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REVIEWS



A VIVEK TRUST MONTHLY

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& Science
Lekhika Sangh on : Children Literature
P. C. Mathur : Researcher's Portfolio

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Greetings to Writers

by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand

versary of the All India Progressive Writers' Association celebrated in April at Lucknow. We were keen to in an appropriate way. Accordingly, a rather long letter (which is now held back for our next issue). I have been fortunate to get an encouraging response from Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, the sole surviving founder who has continued to be its living and active member. We publish below the (hitherto unpublished) text of the greetings delivered at the celebrations, or what he has to say of the Indian writers to the cause of humanity. —Editor)

surviving founding father of the Progressive Writers' Association, I can only express my own euphoria about the continuation of the vitalist traditions of creative men in the advance-guard of our

condition of the human situation which made the foundation of the Progressive Writers' Association was the decimation of our cultures of India and the other subject peoples.

TO LIVE IN ACTION

of Fascism in the thirties and the intensification of the challenges which urged us to decide to shift from literature of salvation to literature of reality. Some of the intelligentsia from India of that time began to look for new horizons and out-looks. Too long had our writers been content with the super ego. We wanted to face the human world, by confronting the realities of our times to which men and women of small ego could emerge into higher consciousness, free of the handicaps of special and mental bad habits, and the slavery by the priestcraft in vicious circles of totemic centuries.

ready, our national writers, the poet Iqbal, the novelist Prem Chand, as also the creative men and women of the movement like Bharati and Vallathol, had confronted the situation under foreign rule and indigenous reaction. But we were in action, and against the surviving strains of revivification, communal strife, and the exploitation by the aliens as feudal and religious oligarchies—new lives of struggle to challenge the violent suppression of human values.

ed discussions about the decay of our cultures, and the individual. we arrived at a minimum manifesto. the inclusion of social and political causes in the literature of fictions and fact.

to was brought to India by Sajjad Zaheer. In collaboration with other writers in the country, he organised the first All India Conference in Lucknow in 1936, under the presidency of the progressive writing in northern India, Munshi Prem

ment of the progressives spread quickly, all over India. The young were awaiting confirmation of their own thoughts from our manifesto.

(Over-leaf)

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Anniversaries in May

This rather delayed issue also has some special features in addition to the usual crop of book-reviews. As our guests, we first have the well known writer Dr. Mulk Raj Anand with a message for fellow-writers. Another interesting contribution is by Dr. R. C. Mehrotra, professor, emeritus, on what Jawaharlal Nehru did to create a solid base for modern science and technology in the country. There are some other innovations too.

We had hoped to catch up with the arrears and soon bring the IBC to its normal schedule of publication, but it has not worked. Rather, we have been let down at the printing stage. The reasons are many; among them, the onset of summer a more plausible one. We had the strange experience of the *Mss* being returned after a few days, because the extra workers engaged for over-time could not stand the gathering heat and the frequent dislocations due to dust-storms or power break-downs. Partly, it is also a matter of 'work culture'. How responsible we (most of us) are when involved in the work in hand.

The month opened with May Day, the day now (rather the festival) of international solidarity of the working classes. It was a hundred years ago when the need first arose or the occasion came for widespread support and solidarity in favour of some American workers fighting for better working conditions and welfare amenities. We have come a long way since then. In many countries, workers have become partners, if not masters, in the business government. For them, May Day is to commemorate their

(Continued on next page col. 3)

Greetings to Writers

by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand

(The 50th anniversary of the All India Progressive Writers' Association (PWA) was celebrated in April at Lucknow. We were keen to take note of the event in an appropriate way. Accordingly, a rather long editorial piece was written (which is now held back for our next issue). Meanwhile, we have been fortunate to get an encouraging response from none else than Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, the sole surviving founder of the movement, who has continued to be its living and active guiding spirit all along. We publish below the (hitherto unpublished) text of his message of greetings delivered at the celebrations, or what he has called "re-dedication" of the Indian writers to the cause of humanity. —Editor)

As the only surviving founding father of the Progressive Writers' Movement, I feel a certain euphoria about the continuation of the vitalist writings of three generations of creative men in the advance-guard of our country.

The confrontation of the human situation which made the founders draft the manifesto was the decimation of our cultures of India under imperial rule and the other subject peoples.

TO LIVE IN ACTION

And the rise of Fascism in the thirties and the intensification of imperialist exploitation were challenges which urged us to decide to shift from our traditional literature of salvation to literature of reality. Some of us among the exiled intelligentsia from India of that time began to reorientate our in-looks and out-looks. Too long had our writers been dominated by the thought of the super ego. We wanted to face the human condition in the actual world, by confronting the realities of our times to understand how men and women of small ego could emerge into higher consciousness, in spite of the handicaps of special and mental bad habits in which they were enslaved by the priestcraft in vicious circles of totem and taboo of the old centuries.

Of course, already, our national writers, the poet Iqbal, the novelists Sarat Chatterji and Prem Chand, as also the creative men and women of our national movement like Bharati and Vallathol, had confronted the human predicament under foreign rule and indigenous reaction. But we felt the need to live in action, and against the surviving strains of revivalism—of ritual, of communal strife, and the exploitation by the aliens as well as by our own feudal and religious oligarchies—new lives of struggle against wrongs; and challenge the violent suppression of human values.

After prolonged discussions about the decay of our cultures, and the will to renewal of the individual, we arrived at a minimum manifesto. The essence of it was the inclusion of social and political causes in the inspiration behind our fictions and fact.

The manifesto was brought to India by Sajjad Zaheer. In collaboration with brother writers in the country, he organised the first All Progressive Writers' Conference in Lucknow in 1936, under the presidency of the doyen of creative writing in northern India, Munshi Prem Chand.

The movement of the progressives spread quickly, all over India, as if most of the new young were awaiting confirmation of their own familiar feelings and thoughts from our manifesto.

(Over-leaf)

May, 1986

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

In 1938 was organised the second All India Progressive Writers' Conference in Calcutta, to which the poet Rabindranath Tagore sent a written presidential address, as he could not be physically present due to illness.

This conference succeeded in promoting the alliance of the most forward intelligentsia of eastern India with the *avant garde* of the other regions. The poet Bishnu Dey, the novelists Tara Shankar and Manak Banerji, the historian Hiren Mukerji, the critic Gopal Halder, and even the *Parichaya* group led by Sudhindra Datta, made common cause with the progressives, and agreed to the spirit of the London manifesto.

In north India, *Allama* Iqbal blessed the movement. Mohammad Din Taseer, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Mahmud-ud-Zaffar, Rashid Jehan, D. P. Mukerji, Abdul Aleem, Ali Sardar Jafri, Majaz, Sibte Hassan and other young writers realised in their poetry and prose the collective unconscious of creatures who once were men and women.

In the south, Venkataramani and Potekat had already added their passion for the new awareness to the creative writings of the old poets, Vallathol and Bharati.

The movement had the support, throughout the thirties, of Jawaharlal Nehru, whose own inspired *Autobiography*, *Glimpses of World History*, and *Discovery of India*, enlarged our manifesto into visionary recreations of the whole Indian cultural process, as it had been sieved from the past into the present.

WORLD WAR AND AFTER

As the second World War, made inevitable by the alliance of fascism with imperialism, in the first instance, and then through their own contradictions, came and over-whelmed the world, our prognostications about facing the realities were confirmed by the world liberal intelligentsia and radicals during the seven long years of insensate bloodshed.

Only the freedom of the subject nations and the emergence of egalitarian values could eliminate the oppression by the haves and the have-nots.

Although the freedom struggles of the various Asian and African countries succeeded through the withdrawal of direct imperialisms, the emergence of the strong neo-colonists imperilled the partial emancipations. And, in the newly freed countries, the tendency of the liberated classes to opt for the consumer goods' civilisation of the West, left the vast bulk of the suppressed populations in states of paralysis.

Some of the ex-colonies have become bases for the containment of the newly won liberation of Asian, African and Latin American people.

As soon as the second World War had ended, the surviving imperialists, who had joined with the Soviet Union to defeat fascism, initiated a cold war against their ally Russia.

The cold war of the past quarter of a century has been gradually turned into active preparations for a Third World War, based on the fear of the capitalist states of the relatively successful basic economies of the socialist states.

MANKIND FACES DOOMSDAY

Today, therefore, the situation is such in which the intelligentsia, awakened to the need for struggle against the aggrandisements of capitalist neo-imperialisms, has to become even more intensely aware of the fears and hates of the giant states.

The invention of new and more deadly weapons, through advanced nuclear technology, has perfected hitherto unforeseen destructive powers.

(Continued on next page)

victories. Elsewhere the struggles continue with protests rallies and demonstrations, and sometimes long drawn and hard battles to the bitter end. In India, we seem to be in the in-between world with unfortunate gaps between what the law is meant to provide and what is practised. Besides, as we said, it is matter of 'work culture' not only in trade or industry, but also in politics and trade union activity. But we should not digress.

May this year saw the start of the holy month of *Ramzan* when the faithful millions once more bend their wills and surrender to God in a spirit of rediscovery of the roots of their faith. They keep their daily fasts and spend time in prayers or in acts of kindness and piety towards fellow beings. Thus they seek peace and harmony with God's creation and communion with Him.

Otherwise this was a month of feasts and festivities and various ceremonies with a spate of marriages thrown in. Our astute astrologers, *pandits* and *purohits* seem to have so arranged things that every post-harvest time is a season of festivals and marriages. Thus, in spite of net costs of living, high temperature and the summer heat, it has been a time of rejoicing and celebrations, for most people, except in those parts of the land where poor innocents become daily victims of fear and senseless killing for some illusionary dream of a new *sthan*, or except those who are daily victims of an equally senseless and brutal system of social or economic discrimination or exploitation.

During May, we in India, also remember the unsung heroes of the 1857-58 war of independence, which was a wide spread and fairly concerted struggle all over north India, except for Sindh Punjab and Kashmir. Some other regional elements also continued to sit on the fence until the battles were lost. Incidentally, was it not Karl Marx who, sitting in London, observed and interpreted these convulsions as symptoms of British India's *first war of independence*? He could clearly see the role of various local elements of

(Continued on next page col. 1)

(Anniversaries-contd)

society, apart from the nobles and the Mughal princes or the Maratha leaders, and the sepoys. He was not blind to apparent signs of mass uprisings.

Within a few years of that upheaval, when the rebellion had been brutally suppressed, were born two illustrious sons of contemporary India, both makers of our new nation in their own ways. Both were born in the first week of May in affluent and cultured homes. This year, we have celebrated the 125th anniversary of their birth.

One of them was Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal's father and the founder of what may well be called a new dynasty of prime ministers (if not rulers or kings). Indeed a great man in his own right, Motilal was recognised and honoured as a great patriot in his life-time. A successful barrister of law who lived like a prince, he did not hesitate to sacrifice his all when the call came to serve the country, and first his only son and then every member of the family was drawn into the thick of political activity, civil disobedience or non-cooperation. But his personal contributions were many and varied.

The other became the bard of India, a voice of renaissance, a poet acclaimed all over the world, who won the honour of Noble Laureate on the strength of a slim and hurriedly translated volume of lyrics in 1912, and thus became, in more than one way, the symbol of awakened and resurgent India. Starting his literary pursuits in his teens, he was engaged in innumerable creative and constructive ventures until his last, a man of many parts and accomplishments—poet and painter, songster and music-maker, dramatist and stage artiste, teacher and philosopher, a *guru-deva*, a complete and universal man, Rabindranath Tagore, the son of a family of merchant-princes, scholars and social reformers.

When we think of these two we also remember a living link between them, another great son of India, Jawaharlal, the dear departed who left his world stage in May 1964.

The bombs thrown on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were relatively small death forces as against the atom, hydrogen and neutron bombs and the various missiles of today.

The conquest of outer space is being turned from peaceful exploitation to the research for Star Wars. It may be possible to wipe out the whole planet earth within a few minutes of the pushing of the button, of one button, in this fear-haunted world.

Mean-while, due to natural causes, as well as neglect of the newly freed countries, extreme poverty prevails among millions of people, when a small portion of the trillions spent on the arms race might have relieved the miseries of the famished people.

Even in the powerful rich countries, the concentration of gains for the rich has led to increasing unemployment and inflationary pressure, reducing whole people to relative poverty and insecurity.

The predicament of man today, then, urges the choice between saving humanity from the vast death awaiting it, should the button be pressed, or to release the new young to basic plenty.

There are many people who are aware of the doomsday.

The intelligentsia of the whole world, but specially of the third world, has to arouse consciousness of the human predicament through a world-wide campaign to preserve life against death.

This requires that, while celebrating the jubilee of the founding of the Progressive Writers' Movement, we re-dedicate the new young to the highest awareness of the doom promised to mankind, and urge that the dis-inherited be given their inheritance, that the evils of racial contempt and inequality be removed, and that the fruits of the earth, gathered by much toil, be shared among peoples, without the greedy absorption of world's wealth by the few.

THE HUMAN PREDICAMENT

I quote to you the words of Professor Sean Macbride, Noble Laureate, about the present human situation, uttered at the end of 1985 :

"In 1984, humanity wasted over 800 billion dollars on the arms race.

"In 1985, U.S.A. is inviting the world to engage in an arms race in space (or Star Wars), which will cost over a trillion dollars to the U.S.A. alone.

"And this is when famine claims hundred of thousands of lives in Africa.

"Over 400 million people suffer from malnutrition.

"More than 300 millions suffer from anaemia. One hundred million children are on the verge of death from under-nourishment and lack of vitamins.

"30% world's children do not go to school.

"Experts say 60% of total annual military spending would suffice : to build 600 000 schools for 400 million children ; 30 000 hospitals for 18 million patients ; 50 million well-equipped blocks of flats for 300 million urbanites ; 20,000 industrial enterprises which would provide jobs for 20 million people".

Author, editor, art patron and connoisseur, and a man of many missions. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand has been, in more than one way, a pioneer, an institution-builder and a guiding spirit in the contemporary world of arts and letters in India and abroad.

Jawaharlal Nehru

The Architect of a Science and Technology Base in Modern India

By : Dr. R. C. Mehrotra

By 1947, when India gained freedom from the shackles of foreign rule, she had been systematically deprived of all the advantages of an advanced industrial culture that she had enjoyed over the centuries up to the 17th century. The West had, in the meantime, built up a strong scientific and technological base as a result of industrial revolution and scientific researches which had developed throughout the preceding two centuries, with a doubling period of ten-to-twelve years and culminating in such breath-taking advances during the second World War as the harnessing of the atomic energy. This then formed the backdrop of the challenge that confronted the educators, scientists, technologists and engineers when our nation, in the words of our great leader Nehru, made its 'tryst with destiny' in 1947. Not only was there a big gap to be filled in, but the developed countries were also continuing to advance their technology at a tremendous pace, widening the gap even further at a fast pace.

ARCHITECT OF A NEW VISION

It was really a matter of exceptional luck for the country to have, at this critical juncture of history, on the helm of affair's a visionary, a planner and an architect of the stature of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Even much before the moment of the tryst with destiny' in 1947, this great lover of science had tried to trace the evolution of his own personality, in 1938, in the following words :

"Though I have long been a slave driven in the chariot of Indian politics with little leisure for other thoughts, my mind has often wandered to the days when, as a student I haunted the laboratories of that home of science, Cambridge. And though circumstances made me part company with science, my thoughts turned to it with longing. In later years, through devious processes, I arrived again at science when I realised that science was the very texture of life, without which our modern world would vanish away. Politics led me to economics, and this led me inevitably to science and the scientific approach to all our problems and to life itself. It was science alone that could solve these problems of hunger and poverty, of insanitation and illiteracy, of superstition and deadening custom and tradition, of vast resources running to waste, of a rich country inhabited by starving people."

A few months later, in the course of his address to the National Academy of Sciences at Allahabad in 1938, Nehru again said :

"Science and academic halls have not known me for many a long year, and fate and circumstances have led me to the dust and din of the market place and the field and the factory, where men live and toil and suffer. I have become involved in the great human upheavals that have shaken this land of ours in recent years. Yet, in spite of the tumult and movement that have surrounded me, I do not come to you wholly as a stranger. For I too have worshipped at the shrine of science and counted myself as one of its votaries.

"Who indeed can afford to ignore science today ? At every turn we have to seek its aid, and the whole fabric of the world today is of its making. During the ten thousand years of human civilisation, science came in with one vast sweep a century and a half ago, and during these 150 years, it proved more revolutionary and explosive than anything that had gone before. We who live in this age of science live in an environment and under conditions which are totally different from those of the pre-scientific age. But few realize this in its completeness, and they seek to understand the problems of today by a reference to a yesterday that is dead and gone.

"We have vast problems to face and to solve. They will not be solved by the politicians alone, for they may not have the vision or the expert knowledge; they will not be solved by the scientists alone, for they will not have the power to do so or the larger outlook which takes everything into its ken. They can and will be solved by the co-operation of the two.....

"Science requires a free environment to grow. When applied to social purposes, it requires a *social objective* in keeping with its method and the spirit of the age. The objective is necessary, for without it our efforts are vain and trivial and lack coordination. We have seen in Soviet Russia how a consciously held objective, backed by a co-ordinated effort, can change a backward country into an advanced industrial state with an ever-rising standard of living. Some such method we shall have to pursue, if we are to make rapid progress.

"The greatest of our problems is that of the land, but intimately connected with it is that of industry. And side by side with these go the social services. All of these will have to be tackled together and coordinated together.

This is a vast undertaking, but it will have to be shouldered."

CONGRESS RESOLUTION—A FORE-RUNNER OF FUTURE POLICY

Soon after the formation of Congress Ministries in 1937, the Congress Working Committee, under the dynamic leadership of Nehru, passed a resolution which appears to be the fore-runner of a policy of nurturing science and consulting scientists in important matters adopted by the Government of India since 1947. The resolution read :

"The Working Committee recommends to the Congress Ministries the appointment of a Committee of Experts to consider urgent and vital problems, the solution of which is necessary to any scheme of national reconstruction and social planning. Such solution will require extensive surveys and the collection of data as well as clearly-defined social objective.

"Many of these problems cannot be dealt with effectively on a provincial basis and the interests of adjoining states are inter-linked. Comprehensive river surveys are necessary for the formulation of a policy to prevent disastrous floods, to utilise the water for purposes of irrigation, to consider the problems of soil erosion, to eradicate malaria, and for the development of hydroelectric and other schemes. For this purpose, the whole river valleys will have to be surveyed and investigated, and large-scale state planning resorted to.

"The development and control of industries require also joint and coordinated action on the part of several provinces,

"The Working Committee advises, therefore, that to begin with an inter-Provincial Committee of Experts be appointed to consider the general nature of the problems to be faced, and to suggest how and in what order these should be tackled. The Experts Committee may suggest the formation of special committees or boards to consider each such problem separately, and to advise the Provincial Governments concerned as to the joint action to be undertaken."

Thus the significant part that science and modern technology could play in the development of the nation was realised by the Congress under the leadership of the great visionary Nehru long before independence. What is even more remarkable is that even in the midst of life and death struggle for political freedom the systematic mind of Nehru did not lose sight of the preparation and planning, which were essential to solve the multifarious problems

likely to be faced by the country immediately after independence.

It was at his initiative that the Indian National Congress set up in 1939, a National Planning Committee and thereby invited leading scientists to cooperate in the formulation of plans for scientific, technological and economic development of the country. It is probably this mental preparedness which enabled Nehru to translate some of his dreams into reality in the form of several scientific organisations and establishments like the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Atomic Energy Commission in independent India.

DEVELOPMENT OF CSIR LABORATORIES

Soon after independence again it was the vision of Nehru, coupled with the dynamism of Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar that led to the setting up of a number of laboratories under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). To give the CSIR necessary authority, Nehru assumed its presidentship (a tradition which has been fortunately followed till today). During the first 5 years of Nehru's presidentship of the CSIR, eleven national laboratories were established in the country covering the most vital fields of science and technology such as chemistry, physics, metallurgy, fuel, food, roads, building, drugs, glass and ceramics, electrochemistry, and leather. The impetus and stature given to these 'temples of modern India' as Nehru called them, has continued under the patronage of his successors. Particularly during the present decade, the CSIR laboratories (now more than three dozen) are rapidly changing the scientific and technological face of the country.

FORMULATION OF SCIENCE POLICY

The importance that Nehru gave to science and technology can also be assessed by the creation of a Department and later a Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research. India was thus perhaps, the first country in the world to have a Minister for Science and Technology to give these important activities their due place in the decisions of the government.

India was also the first country to adopt a *Science Policy Resolution* in 1958. The preamble and concluding portions of this important resolution adopted by the Indian Parliament under the leadership of Nehru, are being reproduced as examples of a resolve which could then be taken by any under-developed country for solving its problems :

"The key to national prosperity, apart from the spirit of the people, lies in the modern age, in the effective combination of three factors, a technology, raw materials and capital, of which

the first is perhaps the most important, since the creation and adoption of new scientific techniques can, in fact, make up for a deficiency in natural resources, and reduce the demands on capital. But technology can only grow out of the study of science and its applications”.

“The Government of India have decided to pursue and accomplish theseby offering good conditions of service to scientists and according to them an honoured position ; by associating scientists with the formulation of policies, and by taking such other measures as may be deemed necessary from time to time”.

A REVIEW OF THE RESOLUTION

Pragmatic and practical as Nehru was, he did not depend merely on resolutions. A conference of about 50 prominent scientists was convened five years later in August 1963, to review the progress of the *Science Policy Resolution*. The keen interest shown by Nehru and a number of his Cabinet colleagues was quite apparent from their continuous presence and enthusiastic participation throughout the deliberations for two and a half days. The manner in which he used to give a look of disapproval when one of his staff members tried to draw his attention to some very urgent phone call was a matter of surprise to a young scientist like me who was attending such a high policy conference for the first time. Papers were presented in this conference by prominent scientists like Professors Mahalanobis, Kothari, Bhagvantham and Zaheer.

Impatient as I was at that time, I made a long speech trying to focus attention on the negligence of scientific research in the universities and the wastage of valuable time of the university professors and the heads of departments of science in the university in filling unnecessary forms for important licences etc. and other administrative chores. The interest that the great man had in the universities led him to call an insignificant person like me aside during lunch-break and discuss for more than 20 minutes about these problems in detail. I am happy to place on record that within a few weeks, a number of improvements were introduced which stream-lined matters in a few of these directions.

As a member of the Board of the Scientific and Industrial Research, I could not but deeply admire the keen interest which a busy person like Nehru showed in each and every item which came up in the meetings of the Board held 3-4 times a year. I vividly recall that during these discussions, he often laid emphasis on the cooperation of the CSIR laboratories with the universities for mutual benefit of both the organisations and the nation. In spite of much progress made in these directions, the full potential of many of Nehru's ideas is yet to be realised.

THE DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY

The constitution of an Atomic Energy Commission in 1948, and the establishment of the Department of Atomic Energy again under the personal charge of the Prime Minister are signal evidences of the far-sightedness of this great lover of science. In spite of his great enthusiasm for this inexhaustible source of energy for human good, Nehru was probably the first among the world's great men who raised his voice against the indiscriminate destruction threatened by nuclear bombs. Although he warned the world repeatedly on the possible misuse of atomic energy, yet he was a great supporter of the use of this powerful source of energy for the good of the people. He was, however, firmly convinced that the exploitation of this new source of energy was even more important for developing countries like ours. Following his leadership, the country has continued to be committed to the development of only peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

In view of this, we have been shocked by the reaction in some quarters of the West on our Pokhran experiment, and pressure that is being brought on us not to continue our efforts further. Nehru appears to have foreseen this situation decades ago when he said :

“The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is more important for a country like India whose power resources are limited than for an industrially advanced country. It may be to the advantage of countries which have adequate energy, because they do not need that power. It would be to the disadvantage of a country like India, if that is restricted or stopped”.

The above two examples of establishment of the CSIR and the Atomic Energy Commission are but two illustrations of the deep interest that Nehru took in all the scientific organisations of the country, including the Defence Science Organisation, the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, and the Indian Science Congress.

For his services to science and technology he was held in the highest esteem not only in this country, but throughout the world. Professor M. M. Newitt, a distinguished Professor of Chemical Engineering of the University of London wrote about him in 1984 :

“Nehru had the distinction of being almost the only Prime Minister of his day, with any real comprehension of the fundamental importance of science and technology in the modern state; and his interest in this field was dictated not by political expediency, but by a deep rooted conviction that it afforded the only ready and practicable means of establishing a stable economy and raising the standards of living of the great masses of the Indian people”.

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IN THE SERVICE OF COMMON MAN

For Nehru, even more important than dazzling researches of scientists and technologists, was the good of the common man through scientific methods. In stirring words, Jawaharlal had declared at the 1947 Science Congress :

"For a hungry man or a hungry woman, truth has little meaning. He wants food. And India is a hungry starving country; and to talk of truth and God, and even of many of the fine things of life, to the millions who are starving is a mockery. We have to find food for them, clothing housing, education, health and so on, all the absolute necessities of life that every man should possess. When we have done that we can philosophise and think of God. So, *science must think in terms of the few hundred million persons in India*".

Though deeply impressed by science and its wonders, Nehru, true to the ancient Indian tradition, laid great emphasis on spirituality and culture in conjunction with science, as is illustrated by the following eloquent words of his :

"I do not suppose humanity can live on reactors alone. Certainly it cannot live on Elephanta alone. In a sense, it is the combination of Elephanta and the Swimming Pool Reactor..... odd as it may seemthat might produce a proper balance in life. Science today gives us power to build up in this world a physical paradise for all. Science also threatens to consume this world, which would be hell-fire. What would you choose, this physical paradise or hell-fire? It is for the human mind and human spirit to control it and direct it in the right direction. The great path of science is to be tempered by something, and that something is spirituality, which gives us, to some extent, the right measure, the right perspective and right direction to look at".

Even though a believer in spirituality and a great living symbol of righteousness, he did not believe in orthodoxy of religion and was a deeply convinced nationalist. According to him :

"The narrow religious attitude was largely one of fear and magic and superstition. Reasoning was not encouraged, and people were asked to believe in what they were told and were not to question why. Many subjects were wrapped up in a mystic covering of sanctity and holiness, and were not to be uncovered or touched. "The spirit and methods of science were very different from this. For science was curious to find out every thing. It would not take anything for granted, nor would the supposed holiness of a subject frighten it way. It probed

into everything, and discouraged superstition, and believed only in such things as could be established by experiment or reason".

PLEA FOR A SCIENTIFIC TEMPER

Nehru is generally credited with the innovation of the term 'scientific temper'. For him, a scientific temper was even more important than all the achievements of science and technology. In fact, according to him :

"The scientific approach and temper are, or should be, a way of life, a process of thinking, a method of acting and associating with our fellowmen".

He was a great believer in the inculcation of a scientific temper in the people as can be clearly seen by the definition of science in his own words :

"It is the search for truth of the physical worldtruth arrived at by a process of trial and error, by experiment, not taking something for granted until it is proved, and rejecting everything that is disproved or does not fit in with the facts before us. It not only gives us a greater understanding of the world as it is, but creates ultimately a temper, an objective temper, a dispassionate scientific temper, which should help us in dealing with problems. All the problems that come up in Parliament or elsewhere, or whatever they may be, could be dealt with better if we approach them in a scientific frame of mind".

Nehru thus left a deep impression on contemporary scientific thought and culture.

SCIENCE IN EDUCATION

He considered exposure to science in our educational process essential for the growth of an integrated personality. In a letter written from the prison on July 12, 1934 to his daughter "Indu sweetheart" he advised :

"But art and general culture without anything else are apt to make us rather helpless in the present-day world. To understand it, we have to possess technical knowledge, for the modern world is based on science and technical appliances. No person can call himself educated today, unless he or she knows something of science and economics and technology,

"It was because of this that I suggested your taking up two science subjects—chemistry and another. I was very glad to learn from you that you had done well in your chemistry paper at Bombay. This shows that you have a bent that way and it is desirable to keep it up. My own subjects at college, as you perhaps know,

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were scientific ones—chemistry, botany and geology with some physics. Physics is the oldest of sciences, the basic one. Then comes chemistry and then biology which is popular now. We should know something of all three of these, and then we can specialise later”.

SOME RECENT ACHIEVEMENTS

This daughter of his, late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was certainly able to translate more meaningfully some of the dreams of her illustrious father into realities. Under her dynamic leadership, the Green Revolution in the field of agriculture brought the country to a point of assured self-sufficiency and capable of sharing its produce with other developing countries which are still struggling towards

self-sufficiency. Spectacular achievements as symbolised in events or developments like the Pokhran implosion, the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE), the launching of Insat I-B preceded by Aryabhata and other earlier remote sensing satellites (Bhaskara I & II and Rohini) and the explorations of Antarctica have brought laurels to the scientists of the country.

The developing nations of the Third World are certainly beginning to look towards India for support and guidance in their technological progress; but it is even more significant that the technologies developed in our laboratories are now catching the attention of the highly advanced countries of the world.

Dr. R. C. Mehrotra, Ex-V. C. Delhi University is now Professor Emeritus in the Deptt. of Chemistry University of Rajasthan Jaipur.

“Lekhika Sangh” on Children Literature

Due to unavoidable circumstances, this brief report was held over from the previous issue of IBC. We regret the delay. The matter is quite topical.

—Editor

A two-day seminar on children literature was organized by the *Lekhika Sangh* as a part of the 27th anniversary celebrations of this all-India organization of women writers from all over India representing various languages or disciplines.

During the first 25 years of its existence, the Sangh has functioned mostly as a platform or forum where women writers have been able to share the individual or mutual experiences or give shape and voice to some of their problems. In the process, they have been able to hold seminars, symposia, conferences, book exhibitions etc. and also managed to publish a few anthologies of poetry and short stories under the *Lekhika* banner. In this manner, many young and potential women writers have been able to start on their voyage of discovery and self-expression, and many hidden talents have been encouraged or promoted to emerge out of the shells of their family or social environments.

Since the last two years, the *Sangh* has begun to devote more attention to the challenging needs of the young readers, the children or the citizens of tomorrow. Last year, an essay competition was organized for average students on the theme: “My Concept of Nationalism”.

This year, there was a seminar on children literature in the middle of March. At the concluding session of the seminar, a resolution was adopted which, among other things, urged that the Union Education Ministry should take over *full responsibility* in the area of children literature. Arrangements should however, be made for associating voluntary writers’ organizations and private or non-government

publication net-works to supplement the governments’ promotional role in the field of writing, publishing and distribution of literature of good quality.

Also, in the *Lekhika Sangh* view “complimentary literature should have the same or equal importance with the text-books for children”, a point also expressed by the Working Group on National Book Policy some time earlier.

Special literature should be designed and created for the disabled and mentally retarded children in addition to audio-visual aids, educational toys and books or magazines, as parts of their development programmes.

Generally, the aim should be “self-reliance”, by bringing out attractive books and films of special interest to children and covering various subjects, which should include or aim at practical application of arts, lessons in human biology and natural science etc. or inculcating a proper and right sense of history which can be promoted also through folk-tales based on ancient culture and civilization.

Interest in sports and environment and general awareness about the universe should also be aroused.

Books should also be translated from one language to the other. For the small or very young children, there should be illustrated books in a simple language and simple vocabulary.

While imparting education adequate audio-visual aids along with readings of suitable children literature should be used, and motivation should be provided to promote such efforts. The seminar also urged strongly that “All-out efforts should be made to curb the evil influences of audio-visual media, which instead should be made the hand-maids of education”.

Based on a report received from the Lekhika Sangh office in New Delhi, courtesy Shiela Gujral.

What Motivated Foreign Aid

George Rosen

WESTERN ECONOMISTS AND EASTERN SOCIETIES

Oxford University Press (1985) pp 270, Rs. 120-00

Reviewed by K. S. Gill

George Rosen describes and discusses the experience of groups of western economists who were sent out from 1950 to 1970 under Ford Foundation auspices and funding for advising the Governments of India and Pakistan and assisting these countries in training and development of research institutions, particularly in the field of economic development. Most of them were sent out under the Ford Foundation programme funds operated by the MIT and the Harvard University. Some were involved in programmes operated directly by the Foundation.

The major programmes covered by the book are : (1) the activities undertaken directly by the Foundation in India in relation to agricultural development, the Calcutta Urban Development Plan and economic institution building ; (2) the India Project of the M.I.T. Centre ; (3) the Harvard Advisory Group (HAG) associated with the Pakistan Planning Board/Commission ; (4) the programme relating to the creation and nursing of the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE).

Rosen examines the motivations of the western institutions which sponsored, financed and operated these programmes, of the economists who participated in them and of the governments which had invited or accepted these programmes. He provides a detailed, well-documented and fairly candid account of the genesis, working and experience of the programmes, and examines their impact on the participating western and host country economists, the field of economic development in the West and the approaches to development in India and Pakistan. He concludes by pointing out some lessons for the future that the West (as well as a country like India) may draw from the experience of these programmes.

The study is based on records of the US organisations concerned viz., the Ford Foundation, the M. I. T. Centre for International Studies and the Harvard Institute for International Development, and interviews with economists who had been involved with these programmes. There is no indication whether the author had access to the records of the CIA, if any, relating to these programmes. Though reference is made to the book *Invisible Government* by D. Wise and T.B. Ross published in 1964, which had revealed that the CIA had helped to fund the MIT Centre (for International Studies) when it was founded, that Max Milikan had left the CIA to become the Centre's director in 1952, and that the Centre was still receiving funds from the CIA for some of its classified projects at that time". (p. 131) It is asserted that "The CIA had never funded any of the Centre's work in India".

MAIN MOTIVATION : TO CONTAIN COMMUNISM

It clearly emerges from Rosen's book that the main consideration of the Foundation in funding the above programmes was the same as the foremost concern of US policy in the early 1950s, namely, the containment of communism which, in 1949, "had won its greatest victory in China". The Foundation chose South Asia for its activity. "Both India and Pakistan had just recently become independent ; they were on the rim of China and seemed threatened by communism. They appeared to be important in terms of American policy, and there were difficulties in official U.S. relations with India". (p. 9)

The choice of activity was influenced by the prevailing American view at the time. This view, as it

has been, brought out by the book, was that since hunger and frustration created conditions favourable for communism, the US could intervene by rendering economic and technical assistance for economic development, and that the Americans could influence policy in the developing countries in the desired direction by direct advice and by undertaking appropriate research, training and instituting-building programmes.

The Foundation-funded programmes in India and Pakistan, it is clear from the book, stemmed from the above assessment of the situation in these countries. These revelations of the book conform to the general impression in India regarding the motivation for these programmes.

SPONSORING INSTITUTIONS AND PARTICIPATING ECONOMISTS

According to Rosen, the motivation of US institutions in sponsoring these programmes was to "affect policy or to create new institutions or strengthen existing ones, thereby influencing the practice of economics by local economists and officials in these countries". The western economists who participated in these programmes were motivated by "policy-influencing and research interests". (Introduction p. xix). The circumstances in which MIT and Harvard programmes in India and Pakistan were implemented and terminated, however, suggest that the motivation of the sponsors and the participants went beyond scholarly academic and research interests or disinterested fraternal research, training and institution-building aid and policy guidance to the unfortunate "free" brethren, who had been left behind, to speed up economic development.

INDIAN AND PAKISTANI MOTIVES IN RECEIVING AID

The Governments of India and Pakistan who invited or accepted the Foundation funded programmes, and the host country administrators, planners and economists who were involved with these programmes had their own respective motivations.

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The book shows that the Pakistan Government which decided in mid-1953 to set up a Planning Board to prepare a Plan by mid-1954, and to request the Ford Foundation to help recruit a group of foreigners to assist the Board in the early stages of its development, was keenly "interested in improving its presentation of requests for foreign aid from potential donors". (p. 38) The five-year plan, it was expected, "would serve as a basis for aid requests to donors". (p. 65)

The 1953 decision could not be attributed to a concern for economic development as "economic development was not a serious political issue at the time". (p. 42) and "planning itself was not of great importance in policy-making". (p. 149).

An important interest of the Pakistan planners seems to have been to use the influence and pressure of the Harvard Advisory Group (HAG) to raise the status of the Planning Board from an *ad hoc* body to "an influential and permanent government agency". The subsequent upgrading of the role and status of the Board was no doubt due *inter alia* to the influence of HAG. In the early 1960s, the HAG was responsible for persuading the Pakistan government to further strengthen the commission and raise its prestige by emphasizing its utility towards securing larger foreign aid. (p. 171-172) An important consideration motivating the Pakistanis working with the Pakistan Planning Board or the PIDE must have been the new openings or opportunities for studies and research abroad and for jobs with international institutions which such contacts afforded.

The major Indian motivations brought out by the book are : technical assistance, particularly in the development of agriculture, financial assistance for institution-building, and also opportunities to Indian scholars for studies and research abroad. In the early 1960s, in connection with the drawing up of the Third Five Year Plan, the MIT Centre was also expected to play a useful role in securing a much larger aid flow than in the past. On the whole, the Foundation-funded programmes

in India originated more in the USA than on Indian initiatives.

ASSESSMENT OF NEHRU

The book contains interesting information on the contemporary American assessment of Nehru and of the political scene and perspectives which formed the basis of the Foundation and other American intervention in this country. Reference is, for instance, made to Hoffman's letter written after a tour of South Asia (1951) as part of a Ford Foundation mission to this region. In this letter, Hoffman expresses his conviction that Nehru firmly believed in democracy, was genuinely anti-communist and was aware "of the Kremlin's determination to make puppets of all Asian nations". But unlike Hoffman, Nehru did not believe that Mao Tse Tung was manipulated by Moscow. On the contrary, it was Nehru's belief, reported Hoffman, that if there were any friends to whom Mao Tse Tung could turn, it was just a matter of time before the new Chinese regime would break away from the Kremlin. Hoffman attributed India's early recognition of China to this belief. (p. 12)

Hoffman's letter, while it speaks volumes for Nehru's sense of history and understanding of Asia, also shows how easily India's top leaders were prepared to share their most vital assessments and beliefs with persons known to be among the leading figures of the American establishment. This was so in spite of the fact that at that time, India's relations with China were supposed to be friendly, while those with USA, because of its hostility over Kashmir and other irritants were professedly very cool. Pakistan was even more of an open book for the Americans, because of its special relationship with the USA.

BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS

The book leaves the impression that the Indian and Pakistani bureaucrats who are so stony-faced towards their own nationals are easily accessible to the foreigners. Likewise, the politicians who pose so

high and mighty towards their own people are so forthcoming to the westerners. Many a time the information which is so tightly withheld by the power wielders from the citizens of their own countries is readily made available to the foreigners. The influence over the top politicians and administrators wielded for long periods in the 1950's and 1960's by Ensminger of the Ford Foundation in India and by Gilbert of the Harvard Advisor Group (also financed by the Ford Foundation) in Pakistan, and the access to vital economic information which they enjoyed, as is obvious from book, was un-matched by any Indian or Pakistani non-official advisor of the two Governments during this period. This, together with the fact that the western investigators have much larger resources and opportunities at their disposal, very often obliges the Indian and Pakistani scholars and the general public to learn about the goings-on in their own countries from foreign books and journals. This highly regrettable situation is, by no means, yet a thing of the past in the two countries.

WHEN INTERESTS CONVERGE

An important lesson that may be drawn from the book's account of the American experience in India and Pakistan is that a foreign advisor, whether an individual or a group, sponsored or funded by a foreign government, or by a non-government organisation working in collaboration with a foreign government, would be effective only as long as the basic interests and view points of the foreign and the host governments converge. Rosen very correctly observes that "economic development and planning is a profoundly political process, and it is the political constraint which sets the limits of a foreign involvement in the process....." (p. 198)

His conclusion seems to be that the foreign advisor should best engage in back-seat driving. He should operate through local people who must be seen to be taking decisions.

The validity of this advice is, indeed borne out by the American experience. In India, as long as the

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MIT group limited themselves to back-seat driving in favour of a substantially aid-dependent large Third Plan, they were very successful and effective. But when they tried to openly criticise the Third Plan industrialisation-oriented policies and priorities with a view to influencing the policies and priorities of the Fourth plan, which was then under preparation, they fell foul of powerful Indian officials, were eventually obliged to altogether and withdraw from the country. The disclosures in 1960, about the connection of the MIT Centre for International Studies with the CIA also seem to have played a part in hastening their exit.

FRONT-SEAT DRIVING IN
PAKISTAN

In Pakistan, in the absence of local planning experts, the HAG had to do a lot of front-seat driving as well, from the very beginning. This way they gained direct influence on policy-making and the planning process. They reached the height of their influence and effectiveness in the first half of the 1960's when under Ayub Khan 'Economic development became a major goal of the military government, the planning process was fully accepted among the policy-makers and the Planning Commission was strengthened and achieved a major influence on economic policy-making. The HAG played a significant role in the Commission's activity and influenced economic policy in general' (p 149).

The market-orientation and emphasis on economic rationality advocated by the HAG particularly suited the dominant and more developed western wing of Pakistan, as these tended to further promote and consolidate this dominance. The high water-mark of this period was in 1965 when the title of *Sitara-i-Pakistan* (Star of Pakistan) was conferred on Richard Gilbert, the head of the HAG.

In the process, the HAG was inevitably associated with the Ayub regime. After 1965, because of the unsuccessful war with India, the

serious economic difficulties resulting from poor harvests and interruption of American aid following the out-break of Indo-Pak war, the intensified tension between East and West Pakistan, the growing public annoyance at inequality of income and wealth reflected in lavish conspicuous consumption by the new rich thrown up the HAG's and Ayub Khan's market-oriented policies, and the increasing unpopularity of the American relationship, both Ayub Khan and the HAG became increasingly unpopular. Finally, when Ayub Khan was overthrown in late 1968, the HAG's days were also numbered. In September 1969, the Group were openly condemned as 'Jewish-oriented American economists'. The project was gradually wound up and finally ended on 30th June, 1970.

LESSONS FOR INDIA

The experiences of the HAG and the MIT Centre, as recounted in the book, hold important lessons for India's modest foreign technical assistance programme. The Indian advisors abroad must never go beyond exercising indirect influence on economic policies, based on the logic of these policies in a particular content. They are also likely to be more effective and acceptable when advising on specific sectoral problems rather than on general national planning. An effective way to have a lasting impact on policies may be to train local personnel and to help create or strengthen local training institutes and other facilities.

The Ford Foundation aid for setting up the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), for setting up and strengthening the Institute of Economic Growth (Delhi), the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics (Poona) and the National Council of Applied Economic Research (Delhi), including scholarships to Indian and Pakistani scholars for overseas studies and training, had probably a more lasting impact than several of the other activities funded by it, which sought to influence directly development policies and priorities.

Indian experts (and generalist pseudo-experts) looking forward to foreign technical assistance assignments will find useful hints in the book about the required or desirable style of functioning in these jobs.

While going through the book, one is struck by the effectiveness with which the western agencies and personnel were able to exploit the ego and self-interest of the host country politicians, administrators, technocrats and intellectuals to plant among them the West's motivated ideas on development policies and priorities, and make the local policy-makers put forth these ideas as the latter's own, cent per cent indigenous brain-wave. This is back-seat driving at its most effective.

Indians operating at the policy-making level must learn to practise this art abroad skillfully and to checkmate foreigners trying to do this in India.

THE NEW AGRICULTURE POLICY

The book seems to exaggerate the role of the Americans (the Ford Foundation programme in agriculture, the MIT Centre project in India and the U S. Government) in engineering the changes in Indian agricultural policy that gradually took shape in the 1960's.

The essential features of the old policy were: (i) an emphasis on land reform with a view to promoting a wide ownership of land; (ii) use of owner-cultivators' labour as the main input for increased agricultural production so as to economise on scarce capital and release it for investment in modern industries and infrastructure; (iii) emphasis on public irrigation facilities, mainly canals, storage works and high-capacity tube-wells; (iv) a progressive change-over to cooperative farming to enlarge the scale of operation and to pool labour and other resources of small cultivators towards securing a more efficient use of agricultural resources; (v) supply of cooperative credit, input supply and output marketing so as to benefit the cultivators at the expense of the middle man; (vi) a rigorous

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management of available marketable surplus of foodgrains through a system of state trading, price controls, and compulsory procurement at less than the market price, to run an extensive public distribution system towards making foodgrains available in the urban and deficit rural areas at low prices; and (vii) stress on community development effort and national extension service for agricultural development.

The new agricultural strategy made major departures from the old policy. Its main elements are: (1) a *de facto* halt to land reforms and acceptance of the present very unequal ownership of land as unalterable; (2) massive investments in agricultural infrastructure, particularly fertilizer industry and irrigation and, to this end, giving agriculture a high-enough priority *vis-a-vis* manufacturing industries, particularly the capital-intensive basic industries; (3) reliance on the individual farmers and abandonment of cooperative farming as a policy objective; also reliance, to the extent possible, on private trade for supply of inputs and marketing of output; (4) emphasis on private irrigation works, particularly private tube-wells and pumping-sets for expansion of the irrigated area; (5) promotion of water and fertilizer responsive high-yielding varieties of seeds that became available from the mid-1960's onwards and to this end, concentration of the development efforts and inputs on the irrigated and assured rainfall areas, ignoring the inequalitarian consequences of this strategy as between different regions; (6) fair prices and other incentives to farmers, particularly remunerative prices of output and subsidised supply of inputs; and (7) relaxation of price and distribution controls on foodgrains, so as to promote a free market in farm produce.

WAY THE OLD POLICY FAILED

The old strategy was foredoomed to failure. It went against the interests of the substantial landowners/cultivators and the private traders. These strata, formed, particularly in the 1950's and the 1960's, the most important constituency of

the ruling party, and it could not bite the hand that feeds.

As pointed out by Rosen, not many in the ruling party believed in this strategy. Few, particularly at the state level, showed any enthusiasm in implementing it. As a result, the second phase of the land reforms aimed at imposition of ownership ceilings and redistribution of the surplus land among the landless and the land-poor never took off. This knocked off the very premises of the old strategy.

The usual inefficiency, corruption and waste in the execution of public works, compounded by inter-State disputes regarding sharing of river waters, inordinately slowed down irrigation projects. There were also the usual problems about the full utilization of the water irrigation potential.

Inevitably, the old strategy failed to raise farm output commensurate with requirements; and foodgrain shortages became endemic, culminating in an unprecedented food crisis in the mid-1960's. This made a change in agricultural policy inevitable.

The American effort at evolving and popularising the new strategy, and the pressure of the US Government in favour of it only expedited the change and gave it a pointed direction. But the change had, in any case, become inescapable and, to an extent, was already under way. The American success in this matter is attributable to the fact that the change favoured by them corresponded to the basic interests of the dominant classes in India. It may be noted that the American efforts to deflect India from pursuing industrialisation did not meet with equal success. This is mainly because in this case, the basic Indian interests did not correspond to the American viewpoint.

OF MILITARY AID OR AID WITH STRINGS

India is very fond of chiding Pakistan for receiving military aid. The book reveals (p-187) that following the border war with China,

India did seek and receive military aid for some years, and that this caused considerable resentment in Pakistan against USA.

Further, the Government of India and the ruling party have always claimed that they would not accept any aid with strings. The book reveals (p-18) that in 1966, when India had a drought and poor crop season for the second year in succession, "President Johnson was determined to exert pressure upon the Indian Government to give greater attention to the agricultural sector in its planning and to adopt appropriate policies to increase India's own output of foodgrains". To this end he adopted a "short-tether" policy which meant that he refused to commit flows of foodgrains under PL 480 beyond one month in advance and made them "dependent upon... adoption of a policy package that he approved of." At Johnson's insistence, C. Subramaniam, Minister of Food and Agriculture, no doubt on behalf of the Government of India ".....put these policies in a written agreement with the American Secretary of Agriculture.... (p-80-81).

These facts concerning receipts of military aid by India and the submission to Johnson's *diktat* will come as a surprise to many in India, particularly the younger generation.

HOW INTELLECTUALS ADJUST

The book provides a very instructive instance of how ambitious intellectuals can easily adjust their views to the requirements of different political masters. Those unfamiliar with Mahbub-al-Haq's intellectual antecedents will learn that this later-day world Bank's Chief ideologue of over-riding priority for poverty removal in the developing countries had, in the early 1960's, when he was on the staff of the Pakistan Planning Commission, "fully accepted the orientation of the Ayub Khan government as to the importance of economic growth, and of the Harvard Group as to the desirability of achieving an economically rational allocation of resources for planning, using indirect controls and market criteria in the

process." (p. 174). He then contended that "no low-income society has yet evolved a painless way of stimulating capital formation and at the same time distributing incomes more equally". He claimed that he "does not stand for social injustice; he stands for economic growth". (p. 174).

Later, when working for the World Bank, Mahbub-ul-Haq espoused very different views with regard to the relative priority between economic growth and poverty removal. At about this time Macnamara, the then World Bank President, had begun to lay great emphasis on alleviation of poverty as a development goal. Presumably after his failure to subdue the Vietnamese by force, he had concluded like other policy makers in the West, that a more effective and less costly way to control the Third World is to perpetuate their economic dependence on the West by inducing them to divert their resources to ill-conceived, half-hearted and inevitably infructuous programmes for immediate poverty removal, instead of concentrating them on development oriented to creating a dynamic and self-reliant economy.

Now that Mahbub-ul-Haq has been for several years, Pakistan's planning minister under Zia-ul-Haq, he might well be tempted to agree that *Islamisation* under the aegis of an overt or covert military dictatorship provides an ideal synthesis of economic growth and poverty remo-

val goals.

Obviously the book has valuable hints to offer to the intellectual community.

The book should be of interest to a wide and varied reading public and enlightened sections of society. They would include (i) students of post-Independence economic history of India and Pakistan, particularly those interested in the evolution of economic policies and the planning processes in the two countries; (ii) researchers investigating the operation, scope and limitations of technical and economic assistance as an instrument of modern postwar colonialism to influence policy and priorities in the developing countries; (iii) political scientists and politicians interested in the evolution of American policy towards India and Pakistan; (iv) the organisers of the Indian technical assistance programme to fellow developing countries; and (v) the Indian experts looking forward to foreign assignments under the auspices of the international organisations; and, lastly in general, persons interested in case studies of economic development of less developed countries. A painstaking, well-documented and fairly objective study, it will be a useful addition to the libraries of universities and social research institutions.

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pace and spread of industrialization.

As a sequel to this 'outside' intervention, the area has, over the years, undergone social and economic 'transformation', first because of the process of industrialization and urbanisation initiated at the beginning of the present century when the Tata Iron and Steel Company went into operation, and the area gradually grew into a huge industrial complex with many subsidiaries and sister industries being established there. The process got a further fillip recently with the establishment of the Government of India sponsored Heavy Machinery Complex at the nearby site of Hatia so that, in addition to thousands of Tata employees, many thousand new tribals have flocked into the area as HEC employees, thereby changing further the entire landscape and socio-economic complexion of the earlier predominantly tribal area.

What has happened to the tribal society as a result of this accelerated growth or concentration of industrial and urbanisation activities? How have their living or working conditions changed? How the fabric of tribal society has been stretched or the family bonds have come asunder under new economic, social or cultural strains. How slums have developed! And social evils or crimes like beggary, prostitution, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency etc. have come to vex the local citizens or the nearby tribal communities, the local civic or law and order authorities as well as social scientists. These are some matters on which relevant data were compiled through a fairly representative sample survey and then analysed in a systematic manner.

On the whole, the picture that emerges is not only dismal, but quite disturbing. It highlights at least one basic point, namely that large-scale and heavy industrialization in the midst of an almost primitive or pristine tribal society has brought about a social disaster and complete break-down of the tribal social structure. Does such development mean progress? Rehabilitation or salvage operations, if ever

Is this the Road to Progress?

Sachidanand and B. B. Mandal

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL DISORGANISATION

Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi (1985) pp. 164 Rs. 100/-

An Over-view and a Review by P. C. Bansal

This book is the out-come of a field study of urbanised sections of tribals in Bihar conducted by the A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna in 1982, on behalf of the Ministry of Social Welfare,

Government of India. The focus is on the processes and some unfortunate or unwelcome aspects of social dis-organisation in the tribal belt in and around Jamshedpur and Ranchi as a result of the growing

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launched at all, will require heroic and long-term operations of social and perhaps moral engineering. Meanwhile, the damage has been done. The poor tribals of Jamshed-

pur or Hatia have paid their price for the nation's progress.

This note by G.B.H. prepared for the column Book Notes and Short Reviews could not be published earlier.

II

Reviewed by P. C. Bansal

The study aims to explore whether and to what extent the tribals of Chhota Nagpur have been passing through a process of 'social disorganisation' as a result of large-scale industrialisation of the area.

Social disorganisation refers to inadequacy in the social system that keeps people's collective and individual processes from being as fully realised as they could be. There is a change in equilibrium of forces or a break-down of social structure, and the accepted norms of social change become ineffective in regulating the members of a group or community. The social disorganisation is a transitory phenomenon and is a pre-condition for the regeneration of society.

The bulk of the tribal communities are poor technology peasants, while others are still in the hunting and food-gathering stage. The tribal communities in this region had been in the process of change long before the industrialisation of the area. Factors like imposition of zamindari system, influx of non-tribals in the area, continued alienation of lands from the tribals and the conversion of some tribals to Christianity are some of the causes which have reduced the effectiveness of the community as a means of social control to fulfil their needs. Industrialisation of the areas has accelerated this process of change.

THE STUDY

The study was conducted in two industrial areas—Jamshedpur and Hatia. Tata Iron and Steel Company was established in 1907 at Jamshedpur and Heavy Engineering Corporation came into existence in Hatia in early sixties. These two

industries formed the nucleus of the study. Besides, information was also collected from slums, core villages (five kilometers of the industrial towns) and fringe villages (10 kilometers of the industrial towns). The sample comprised semi-skilled and unskilled industrial workers, unskilled women workers, slum-dwellers, persons living in core and fringe villages, beggars and 'fallen' women from the two industrial complexes. The secondary data about crime and delinquency were collected from police records for the last five years. In all, 1012 persons were interviewed with the help of interview schedules.

The findings reveal that a majority of the migrants (who have stayed for less than three decades) are from rural areas. A majority of slum-dwellers are migrants. Most of the houses do not have proper facilities. Industrial workers of Jamshedpur enjoy better living space in comparison to their counter-parts in Hatia. Most of the working women belong to four large tribes and are illiterate. They are engaged in hard manual work and earn less than two hundred rupees in a month. A minority of them is on permanent pay roll, and most of them suffer from job insecurity. Most of them work to supplement the family income, while in some cases, they are the only earners of their family. It is a matter of concern that more than half of the children of school-going age of working mothers are not attending schools (p-83). Steps have to be taken to induce parents to send their children to schools and making education more relevant to them.

THE FINDINGS

Beggary :

Beggary among the tribals was unknown. With the break-down of social structure, there has been a loosening of community ties with its members. Some beggars were included in the study. They belong to four tribal major groups. The bulk of them suffer from physical disability or disease, and most of them come from rural areas. The average income of a beggar is more than that of an agriculture labourer. Some beggars are engaged in other occupations like scrap picking and cattle grazing.

Fallen Women :

Many women are said to be engaged in flesh trade in industrial areas. Most of them are illiterate, and some of them are unmarried. Some major predisposing factors leading them to this profession are unhappy family relationship, bad influence of relations and friends, sexual urge, deception, poverty and high ambition. Death of father or husband, excessive drinking habit of guardians and negligence or indifference of parents or husbands are some other factors contributing to the dissolution of emotional ties in the family. About the relation of such women with their family, in some cases, family members have snapped relations with them, while in others, they are in this business without the knowledge of family members.

Alcoholism :

On social and religious occasions, drinking among tribals is customary. Now it is very popular among them. Only a small proportion of them do not drink. A good portion of the income is spent on drinking. Social movements like those of Bisra and Tana Bhagat and currently the Jaharkhand Mukti Morcha are carrying out campaigns against drinking. There is a need to intensify this campaign against drinking by social agencies.

Juvenile Delinquency and Crime

Though there are not many cases of delinquency in police records, but it seems to be rising among the tribal children. This is testified by the people that offences among the children in the form of stealing,

theft, gambling and so on are on the increase. Besides towns, delinquency exists in villages also. It is wide-spread in Jamshedpur area. The main factors which induce children towards social offences are parental behaviour, environmental factors, gross inequality, acute poverty and economic insecurity. Crime activities in Hatia include murder, robbery, riot, burglary and dacoity, while in Jamshedpur it is confined to riot, burglary and robbery. The authors attribute the high incidence of crime in Hatia to the fact that with the setting up of industries in Hatia, a large number of tribal families were uprooted and they have yet to be rehabilitated.

Family :

Generally both nuclear and joint families exist side by side. In Hatia, there are more joint families, but among the tribal working women, nuclear family is dominant. The number of dependents in the family of industrial workers and of slum-dwellers is more than that of the fringe and core villages. Income-wise, the respondents of Jamshedpur are better off than their counterparts in Hatia. There is more unemployment, it is observed that as a family migrates from the fringe village to the core village or industrial area, the possibility of enhancement of income increases. But with the migration of the family, opportunity for employment of all adult persons in the working group decreases and the number of educated unemployed increases.

Marriage :

In the institution of marriage, the norms of the community are generally adhered to. A difference is observed between the 'preferred' and 'actual' age of marriage. The latter is somewhat lower. If the marriage age in practice in fringe villages is taken as the norm of the community, then the industrial workers and slum-dwellers have moved from the normative pattern. Such deviation is more in Jamshedpur than in Hatia. Monogamy is the rule of the society, but polygamy is permitted if the first wife is barren. There have been violations of this norm. Tribal Panchayat permits

divorce after considering the merit of the case. Of late the influence of the Panchayat is decreasing and the concerned parties take their own decision. In fringe, villages the Panchayat is consulted in such matters. Of late conjugal disharmony is also evident. The major reasons for family disputes are : liquor habit, economic hardship and children's behaviour.

Role of Community :

On three major occasions in the family, birth, marriage and death, a man seeks participation of kinsmen and community members. This reflects the sense of belongingness and adherence to the community. A good number of people do not seek involvement of kinsmen and community members on such occasions. Some people do so because it is customary. In the major village festivals, workers participate just to visit their homes rather than for any attachment to the community.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

It has been pointed out that social disorganisation is marked by break-down in the social structure. Where the accepted norms of social control become ineffective, there is also a decrease in the fluence of social rules, there is also a break-down of communication between the various groups. The old norms and super-natural powers have become ineffective when faced with challenge of times, and there is a search for alternatives.

During the last four decades, Chhota Nagpur has been in a state of flux. The major forces working there are traditional forces such as *Hinduisation* of tribal community, and modern forces e.g. tribals embracing Christianity which emerged from about the middle of the 19th century. The tribal method of social control became weakened because the village was no longer a symbol of solidarity and people migrated to cities. The police stations and courts provided an alternative agency of social control.

After independence, education facilities, a net-work of communication in the form of rail and roads

and the community development programmes in the villages etc have exposed the tribals to much out-side work. Industrialisation has affected a small section of the tribal population, and they too are adopting industrial ethics.

C. M. Abraham mentioned that 3.2 per cent of the scheduled tribes are engaged in house-hold industry and manufacturing (1984:151). For the vast majority of people, traditional customs and *panchyats* are having their upper hand. Thus social disorganisation is a sign of the emergence of new society. The identity and culture of the tribals are respected, but they are encouraged to learn to live with the main stream.

In short, this is a nice study that can be read with profit by general reader, administrator and academician alike. The authors have done a commendable job and deserve the gratitude of the reader. The book will induce researchers to undertake studies on weaker sections of the society. It is sure to receive a wide audience. It will be of interest to see the impact of industrialisation and modernisation on non-tribal groups of similar socio-economic status and background.

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**—Editors IBC
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May, 1986

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Lohia's Quest

Prakash Shastri

SOCIALIST THOUGHT IN INDIA :

With special reference to Lohia's Quest for Indigenous Socialism

Printwell Publishers, Jaipur (1985), pp. XIII+119, Price Rs. 85/-

I Reviewed by Ranbir Singh

The genesis of socialist thought in India is generally traced to the emergence of a 'socialist group' within the Indian National Congress in the 1930's. This phenomenon could be attributed to the disenchantment of a youthful section in the party with the leadership, after the failure of the civil disobedience movement. This group felt agitated over the inability of the leadership to evolve a radical programme for mobilising the masses and galvanising them for the struggle for independence.

The group consisted of leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Acharya Narendra Deva, Achyut Patwardhan, and M.P. Masani. They were opposed to the Communist Party which had, at that time, alienated itself from the national movement by attacking the Congress as a bourgeois and a reactionary party. They formed a group of their own (The Congress Socialist Party) within the Congress.

However, after independence, they were compelled to leave the Congress and form a Socialist Party. After their defeat in 1952 election, the socialists decided to form the Praja Socialist Party as a consequence of the merger of the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party. Afterwards the socialist movement in India underwent through many permutations and combinations.

DIFFERENT MOORINGS

These socialist leaders had different ideological moorings. While Jayaprakash Narayan and Acharya Narendra Deva had been deeply influenced by Marxism, M. P. Masani

and Ashok Mehta had their belief in social democracy as envisaged by the British Labour Party. The socialism of Achyut Patwardhan and Ram Manohar Lohia, on the other hand, had been much influenced by Gandhism. Though all these leaders have made important contributions to socialist thought in India, Ram Manohar Lohia occupies a significant position in view of his unconventional ideas.

Prakash Shastri's book is an attempt to deal with the socialist thought of Ram Manohar Lohia. The author has selected Lohia for this study because in his opinion, Lohia had tried to develop an 'indigenous model' of socialism by adopting a historical out-look and by following an inter-disciplinary approach. The author is of the view that Lohia's model of socialism had been formulated in the light of Indian reality. It had been influenced by Indian tradition. It was not an imitation or an adaptation of western models of socialism.

Instead of tracing the history of socialist thought from the formation of the Congress Socialist Party in 1930's, the author has tried to discover the roots of 'indigenous socialism' from the teachings of the legendary Acharya Brahaspati. He holds that the ancient materialist systems of thought had been purposefully buried in the realm of Indian historical writing. In the garb of *Mimamsa* and synthesis, commentators like Madhava, Adi Sankaracharya, Ramanuja and Ved Vyasa tried their utmost to idealise the whole gamut of previous schools of thought. According to the author, this was done under the prevalent conditions to serve the interests of the ruling classes.

FROM BRAHASPATI TO GANDHI

After dealing with the genesis of 'indigenous socialism' from the time of Acharya Brahaspati up to Mahatma Gandhi, the author has tried to deal with Ram Manohar Lohia's concept of 'the four pillar state'. He has also described Lohia's doctrine of 'equi-distance'. The author has also dealt with Lohia's views regarding caste and language in the context of socialism.

However, the author has not pointed out the negative dimensions of Lohia's so-called model of 'indigenous socialism'. Lohia had tried to organise backward caste against the upper castes for bringing about socialism. But caste-based political mobilisation has since been acting as the greatest barrier in the path of unity, organisation and mobilisation of both the peasantry and the proletariat. Similarly, the tirade against 'English' led to the growing fear of 'Hindi imperialism' at least, in the minds of people of the non-Hindi speaking regions. This has also proved to be a hurdle in the way of workers' unity and struggle against capitalism and the remnants of feudalism in the country.

Besides, socialism is a modern ideology which has emerged as a reaction against capitalism. It is different to trace its roots in the pre-capitalist era, as the author has tried to do. Moreover, this concept of indigenous socialism fails to carry conviction.

In spite of these reservations, the present reviewer feels that the book is a valuable addition to the literature on socialist thought in India. Its value lies mainly in its provocative and controversial findings. The author has certainly succeeded in presenting unconventional ideas in an unconventional fashion. He has undertaken painstaking research for producing this work and deserves to be congratulated for it.

The value of the book has also been enhanced by the scholarly foreword of Professor Iqbal Narian, member-secretary, Indian Council of Social Sciences Research, who is an eminent political scientist in his

own right and whose words of encouragement must have been great sources of inspiration to young scholars like. Shashtri during his long stewardship at the Department of Political Science of the University

of Rajasthan, where Shashtri is based.

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faith, and protestants without cause, the Indian socialists did not enamour Lohia. He sought to juxtapose the possibilities inherent in his preferred 'indigenous alternative' with the indices of feasibility in the premises of scientific socialism.

II

Reviewed by D. B. Mathur

It would perhaps be ungenerous to indulge in semantical fencing over whether the prefix 'indigenous' is or is not in consonance with the fidelity of socialism. We may do well to remember that the search for or evolution of political ideas as possible alternatives in the context of Indian nationalist movement was neither without its exacting obligations, nor was it dependent upon ready-made blueprints for amelioration and liberation of the colonial people. The movement had to discover its own ideology and strategies for struggle. The activist-nationalist-protestants in India were also pre-occupied with the crusading quest for conceptual viability in keeping with the realities of the situation.

VITAL STRANDS OF INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

The author covers a broad canvas of the 'spirit' and the 'intent' of thoughts and precepts (or ideologies) in India's hoary tradition, in identifying various socio-economic indices, inter-actions and issues which were relevant then as they may be now in several ways. That gives the discerning reader the academic's comprehension of the forces of change and the signs of continuity which were unique in their intriguing potential and varied in their fascinating infinity. It is convenient, sometimes expedient, to ignore or belittle whatever falls under the comprehensive rubric of ancient or traditional Indian political thought for reasons either rooted in ignorance or in an alienated intellectual environment.

The author's contribution is an exercise which seeks to indicate the depth and expanse of many a vital strand of Indian political thought, both ancient and contemporary. Without for a moment confusing the indices of scientific socialism, one should remember that the pioneer contemporary activist-thinkers in India were suitably impressed and inspired by the deep and vast analyses of such an 'alternative', though by overwhelming emphasis they also opted for a path of socialism which might escape being condemned as utopian and impracticable, and could not be branded as a vague and ungainly replication of a relatively radical format of scientific socialism.

LOHIA'S MODEL

A difficult person in many ways, and an activist-analyst of perspicacity in more ways, than one, Lohia's alternative to the western model of socialism has invited acid comments, vituperative reprisals and also well-meaning critiques. The author has taken pains to bring out the totality of Lohia's perspective. If Lohia emerges as a thinker and analyst in a vastly effulgent light, it is because the author has not fought shy of painting Lohia as he was, without eulogy and certainly without unnecessary and 'fashionable' tirade against his inconsistencies.

We would not be off target if we assume that Lohia had realised that Indian socialists and the Indian path of socialism, were slipping into the abyss of non-entity or, at best, a confused identity. Men without

THEIR GODS ALSO FAILED

Suppose we refrain from accusing Lohia of not being a genuine and true advocate of scientific socialism. In that case, it would be possible to discern why and how Lohia had no other choice, because any radical transformation of the Indian *tabula rasa* in the absence of institutional and organisational base and depth, could not have been imagined. Given the constraints of the genuine Marxist fora and movements in India over the preceding decades, and the over-whelming odds and obstructionist contrivances of national bourgeoisie, even radical thinking and activism have not been able to score massive conversions to the proletarian commitment.

What took a few years in other lands, with more stringent subversion by authority and also more potency of organised gangsterism and genocide at the behest of the rulers, has hitherto taken decades to comprehend in India. Conceptually and emotively viable and inspiring though scientific socialism might have been, there is little evidence of effort at mass mobilisation. The urban or semi-urban appeal could only be at the cost of leaving the vast country-side to the nibbling mechanism of neo-elite and neo-rich, and also to the merciless exploitation by power-brokers in a variety of outrageous masquerade.

It would be pertinent to examine if Lohia had also not erred in missing the core of India's attitudinal and socio-economic captivity of tradition, by having granted exaggerated competence to the self-generating 'will' (of the people) to transform (themselves) even in the absence of comprehensible symbols, concepts, action-programmes, strategies, and 'ideals as the objectives'.

People and nations, especially those in bondage over centuries, oblivious of the manifold ugly faces of bondage, have not been able to liberate themselves in the absence of a massive and persistent thrust to the 'will' of the people. Sweet and romantic words and purely academic sophism have never transformed societies. Lohia had a dream! Also a theory. But he lacked a movement. Also, he was deeply aware of the mythology surrounding the ruling class in India.

And yet, if there is an object failure in our times, it is the failure

of those who claim to be socialists. If Lohia's alternatives are irrelevant, the socialists ought to have been the first to denounce him and his ideas in the first place. By not showing any such honesty of conviction and activism, they only betrayed their cause. If, on the other hand, the socialists believed in the efficiency and inevitability of Lohia's alternatives, they had all the time in world to organise, manage and implement them.

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Sage Vasistha's Advice to Rama

Swami Venkatesananda

THE CONCISE YOGA VASISTHA

State University of New York, Albany (USA) pp. xv+430.

Reviewed by R. N. Kulhalli

The *Yoga Vasistha*, (variously known as *Vasistha Ramayana*, *Vasistha Maharamayana*, *Jnana Vasistha*, *Arsa Ramayana* or simply as the *Vasistha*), is a voluminous work to which traditionally 32,000 *slokas* (stanzas) have been attributed. It is also referred to as the *Brihad Vasistha* or the Encyclopaedic Vasistha, to distinguish it from an abridged version, the *Laghu Vasistha* or the shorter Vasistha. Valmiki, the epic poet of Ramayana, is said to be the author of this work. The earliest and the only full-length English translation of the *Yoga Vasistha* is by Viharilal Mitra published in 1896 (reprinted in 1976-78). It spans seven volumes,

A PHILOSOPHY THROUGH PARABLES

The *Yoga Vasistha* consists of spiritual instructions given by sage Vasistha to Lord Rama. It is a philosophical work with a difference; its philosophy is conveyed through stories and parables. The method

of instruction is direct and authoritative without logical hair-splitting or scholastic interpretation of sacred texts. The work is also known for its lyrical passages and moving descriptions of the country and the people.

In the *Bhagavad Gita*, it is Lord Krishna who instructs the dejected Arjuna. Here, it is a human sage Vasistha who instructed Lord Rama. Like Arjuna, Rama also becomes enlightened and resumes his duties. The *dramatis personae* are impressive and inspiring; the setting is magnificent. Rama is the incarnation of Vishnu and is extolled or revered as a dutiful son, a loving faithful husband, and an ideal ruler supremely sensitive to the common man's opinions. Vasistha, a haloed and exalted sage is the *kula guru* (family preceptor) of King Dasaratha. One of the *sapta rishis* (seven sages) immortalised in the Great Bear, he is the author of the hymns in the seventh *mandala* of the *Rig Veda* and is the founder of the illustrious lineage that was the early

custodian of Vedantic lore.

The setting, too, matches the personages. Rama, after completing his studies undertakes a pilgrimage and visits various holy places. When he returns from the pilgrimage, he is no longer his young buoyant self. He feels dejected and is withdrawn. Dasaratha turns to Vasistha for advice. Soon after, Vishwamitra comes to King Dasaratha, with the request to send Rama to his hermitage to deal with the demons harassing his austerities. Rama is ushered in and Vasistha, at the request of one and all, starts his spiritual instructions to Rama right in the royal court. His audience includes, apart from Rama, Viswamitra, Dasaratha, members of the royal family, ministers and a host of others. The discourse is offered daily and continues for a number of days.

A NEGLECTED WORK

Swami Sivananda, the *guru* of Swami Venkatesananda, in his book *Stories from Yoga Vasistha* observes: "*Vasistha Ramayana* was once, one of the most widely read books in India. It greatly influenced the general philosophical thought." Yet most philosophers have neglected the work. Only Surendranath Dasgupta, in his *History of Indian Philosophy* has a chapter on it. The credit of bringing this work into the mainstream of Indian philosophy goes to the late B. L. Atreya. His book *The Philosophy of Yoga Vasistha* (his D. Litt. thesis) published in 1936, is the first full-scale philosophical work in English on the *Yoga Vasistha*. Barring the work of T.G. Mainkar, *The Vasistha Ramayana: A Study*, published in 1955, (a second edition in 1977), there is no other major comprehensive critical work.

Atreya attributes the neglect of the *Yoga Vasistha* by philosophers to the lack of logical classification, and also to for too many repetitions. He writes: "Everything has been treated in every *Prakarna*. No logical or scientific classification has been kept in view with regard to the topics dealt with. This defect of this work is very much felt by the

modern reader who expects everything properly classified and exhaustively but tersely dealt with in its own place".

AUTHORSHIP AND CONTENTS

There is no evidence to suggest that Valmiki is the author of this work. According to T.G. Mainkar's authoritative critical study, the *Yoga Vasistha* went through three major phases and was composed in its present homogeneous form around 1200 A.D. in Kashmir. Its contents are syncretic and as the Introduction to the book under review puts it: "Threads of Vedanta, Jainism, Yoga, Samkhya, Saiva Siddhanta, and Mahayana Buddhism are intricately woven into the *Yoga Vasistha*; it is a Hindu text *par excellence*.....".

The *Concise Yoga Vasistha*, the book under review, has a benedictory foreword by Swami Muktananda, an introduction and bibliography by Christopher Chilbert and an index. The text by Venkatesananda runs into 420 pages and is divided into six sections on the lines of original. The six sections are: (1) On Dispassion; (2) On the Behaviour of a Seeker; (3) On Creation; (4) On Existence; (5) On Dissolution; and (6) On Liberation.

The first section deals with Rama's dispassion and thoughts of dejection. Rama laments the ill-effects of wealth, the insatiable nature of desires and the fleeting nature of man's life-span at which the "rat of time gnaws without respite". The various stages of life—childhood, youth and old age—offer no real happiness. Rama asks: "How can one who is involved in this world and its activities as I am, reach supreme peace and bliss?"

In the second section, Vasistha instructs: "Rama, there are four gate-keepers at the entrance to the realm of freedom (*moksha*). They are: self-effort, spirit of enquiry, contentment and good company". Stress is placed on *pratyaksha* (direct cognition) and *anubhav* (experience). A highlight of these instructions is the importance given to self-effort and rational enquiry, which have a

contemporary flavour, as the following quotes reveal. On self-effort: "There is no greater power than right action in the present". On rational enquiry: "Even a young man's words are to be accepted if they are words of wisdom; otherwise reject it like straw even if uttered by Brahma, the Creator."

The next three sections revolve round the theme of the "mind only" doctrine. The world is created by mind, is maintained by mind and is dissolved by mind; the only reality is Brahman. "Creation (of the mind) is but agitation in consciousness; and the world exists in mind. It seems to exist because of imperfect vision, imperfect understanding". From the first Being to the infinite number of *Jivas* and the World, all are mere thoughts (*samkalpa*). There are worlds within worlds, but there is "no real transformation of the infinite". One becomes realised when the "creation is known to be utterly non-existent".

The last section deals with liberation which takes place when the *vasanas* (desires) in the form of mental residue are destroyed and *avidya* (ignorance) is removed. The section deals with two kinds of Yoga: *Pranayama* (breath control) and *Puja* (worship). *Puja* is sub-divided into *Antah Puja* (internal worship) and *Bahya Puja* (external worship). *Antah Puja* is *dhyana* (meditation) and can be practised under all circumstances. Seven stages of Yoga are discussed. When one attains liberation, one becomes *prabuddha* (awakened) and all the dualities disappear. A *Jivan Mukta* (liberated person) does not have to give up the world or action; he acts in the firm belief that only the Brahman exists.

Rama is thus duly enlightened, and the assemblage showers praise on Vasistha for uplifting all of them.

QUESTIONS BY YOUNG RAMA

In view of Rama's tender age, instruction has been imparted through fascinating stories. The present text contains more than fifty such stories, which deal with events and

situations in some illusory worlds, unconditioned by time and space, where all the laws of nature, as we commonly understand them, are suspended. The story of Queen Leela who visits her two previous incarnations or the story of the couple living in the revivice of a rock, appear as pages from some mind-boggling modern scientific fiction. One of the shorter stories, the "Story of the Non-Existent Princes" begins thus: "Once upon a time, in a city which did not exist, there were three princes.....of them two were unborn and the third had not been conceived.....".

The questions posed by Rama are remarkable for their perspicacity, earnestness and candour. Here is a sample of his questions: "Holy Sir, if ignorance is non-existent in truth, then why should one ever bother about liberation or inquiry?" Or....."Lord, why do we not see many of these liberated sages traversing the sky now?" And....."Lord, Brahman is free from sorrow; and yet that which has emerged from it is the Universe which is full of sorrow. How is this possible?"

AN EVALUATION

In a terse and erudite introduction sketched in admirable prose, Christopher Chilbert touches on several themes of the *Yoga Vasistha*: its influence on Indian life and thought; the principal figures, Vasistha and Rama; the syncretic nature of the *Yoga Vasistha* and its probable date; the 'mind only' doctrine and the state of "*Jivan Mukta*". Only on the last three themes he dwells at some length. A few other themes such as self-effort, rational enquiry, or the *Yoga* advocated, also merit some attention. The "*Yoga*" of the *Yoga Vasistha* certainly needs elucidation.

However, perhaps an extended general introduction or short introductions to each section would have made the comprehension of the abstract discussion easier. The level of abstraction may be gauged by the words in the index. The word *Brahman* and *Jiva* occur on every fourth page, and the next frequently used

terms are *prana* and mind. A glossary of names and Sanskrit words would have been very welcome, especially to the western readers not steeped in Hindu lore.

The introduction is silent on the public nature of the discourse and the royal setting. The statements that Rama 'approached' Vasistha for instruction and that the enlightenment allowed Rama to return to his kingdom to rule are confusing. They may give the impression that the instruction was imparted in Vasistha's hermitage.

The introduction is also silent on the earlier two-volume work by the same author entitled, "*The Supreme Yoga : A New Translation of the Yoga Vasistha in Two Volumes*" (1981) listed in the bibliography. The present book seems to have been fashioned out of this earlier work, which was first published in 1976. The earlier text has been carefully pruned and competently edited. The Sanskrit verses have been eliminated and the matter has been presented in a more systematic and readable way. The previous study, it may be mentioned, was intended for the *sadhaka* (seeker) who is required to study a page a day. It is an *amusthan* (reverential study) programmed for two years,

Repetitions have been one of the problems of the *Yoga Vasistha* and

even the present book is not free from them. Repetitions are inevitable; for, though the questions have a wide range covering the whole gamut of human existence, the answers revolve around the themes of thought, dream, illusion and liberation. Repetitions also have their own value, especially when a scripture is to be studied daily over a period of time so that the wisdom sinks into one's mind and transforms one's life. But such repetitions are unwelcome to those whose pursuit is merely academic or intellectual.

There is no doubt that the edition of *Consise Yoga Vasistha* fulfills a genuine need since most other translations have been sketchy and lacked literary skill. The present translation captures the spirit of original, is lucid and eminently readable. As O'Flaherty says in his appreciation of this work, the text *Yoga Vasistha* would not have been neglected "had a translation as good as this been available". Beautifully printed and exquisitely bound, the book deserves a place in the bookshelves of those interested in Indian religion, philosophy, psychology and Yoga.

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Several government agencies also publish a large number of varied documents which educate the citizens and publicise government policies or programmes and achievements, and disseminate such findings and statistical data as may be considered useful to the people.

Government publications are produced in large numbers and through them, the government can reach the people directly and convey information in a systematic way. These are reliable and inexpensive information tools, particularly in the field of social sciences and statistics etc. These publications pose several complicated problems in the organisation of their catalogues, categories or indices for reference purposes. To some extent a remarkable solution to such problems has been offered by Mohinder Singh by bringing out, during recent years, three useful documents :

1. *Government Publications of India : A survey of their nature, bibliographical control and distribution system* (1967).
2. *Learned Societies and Institutions in India : Activities and Publications* (1975).
3. *Government of India Publications* (1982).

All of these are pioneer publications which have received high appreciation both from the librarians and scholars in India and abroad.

POOR DISSEMINATION

India is a union of several states. And each state government has its own publication department which brings out regular and irregular serials and documents dealing with several aspects. These documents comprise of administrative reports, statistical reports, acts, budget papers, rules, and regulations, committee and commission reports, directories, gazettes etc. In recent years, it has been observed that there has been a tremendous increase in the production of these documents in the above-mentioned areas. But most of these documents remain unknown to the users, because of the

An Index of Official Publications

Mohinder Singh

STATE GOVERNMENTS PUBLICATIONS IN INDIA 1947-1982.

2 Vols. Academic Publications, Delhi (1985)

Vol. 1 : pp. 323 ; Vol. 2 : pp. 324 Rs. 375/-

Reviewed by Rajwant Singh

Institutions, commercial publishers and government departments are three major agencies of published material which serve as media for dissemination of information. In the case of commercial publications, various catalogues, bibliogra-

phies, trade lists etc, are issued regularly by the book-trade to give these publications a wide publicity. Similarly, we find lists and catalogues of publications from various academic or research institutions and learned societies about their publishing acti-

absence of a central catalogue of these publications. This also results in a poor distribution of the documents and thus information about various states is disseminated poorly among the people. All these documents are very useful reference tools for the use of scholars in different disciplines, and also to the government officers. But these are not properly organised and widely distributed.

The present commendable work *'State Government Publications in India'* compiled by Mohinder Singh has filled a void because the author has succeeded in bringing together all types of documents brought but by the various state governments between the years 1947 and 1982, at one place. The book under review is in two volumes and seeks to assist in identifying, acquiring and promoting the use of such publications. This study is the third in the series entitled *'Academic Series in Library and Information Science'* and has been brought out with the financial assistance from the Indian Council of Social Science Research.

The first volume has been divided into two main parts viz. :- (1) Government as a publisher, and (2) Bibliography of State Governments publications. Part one contains three chapters : (a) Government Publishing (b) Organisation of Publishing and Distribution Systems and (c) Analysis and Recommendations.

NATIONAL REFERENCE

In order to stream-line the organisation of state government publications, the author strongly suggests the establishment of a National Reference Centre for Government Publications which should (a) undertake the compilation of a union national catalogue of government documents and of subject bibliographies on demand, (b) act as a national depository; (c) be also responsible for acquiring important publications of foreign governments on an exchange basis; (d) undertake cataloguing publications and then supply of printed catalogue cards; (e) collect the rare and out-of-print

government documents and make them available either as reprints or photo-copies. He also stresses that the publishing and distribution of such documents should be centralised to the maximum possible extent.

The second part of the first volume covers thirteen Indian States in alphabetical order; and their activities in bibliographical area are listed. These states are; Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh and Madras.

The second volume covers bibliography of government publications of the under-mentioned States and Union territories: Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mysore, Nagaland, NEFA, Orissa, PEPSU, Punjab, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, United Provinces Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, and the Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Delhi, Goa, Daman and Diu, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindive Islands, Lakshadweep, Mizoram and Pondicherry.

THE SCHEME

Under each State, entries are listed in an alphabetical order. After the first entry under name of the State as author, remaining entries follow by the titles, departments and other sponsoring agencies. In a few references, brief annotations are also provided. At the end of the second volume, the author has also incorporated personal names index, which is useful in locating contributors by name. Subject approach is lacking, as no subject index has been provided.

Since government documents pose several obstacles in their organisation and retrieval from the libraries, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive system to control this problem. The traditional systems of organisation of knowledge and information are not successfully applicable to these documents, and,

therefore, in order to facilitate their easy and expeditious, retrieval, special systems have to be devised. John Pemberton has discussed such systems in his book *'Bibliographic Control of Official Publications'*. It is hoped that on a similar pattern, a system suited to Indian conditions would be developed for the organisation of such documents in our libraries.

ATTRACTIVE BUT COSTLY

As far as the get, up of the two volumes is concerned, it is very attractive. Each volume is neatly printed on good quality paper and is well-bound, but because of the high price, many libraries the main users of such material, will not be able to acquire this important reference source due to their low budgets. It would, therefore, be desirable both for the author and the publisher to bring out its revised edition a little cheaper, so that it is within the financial reach of all.

Types of libraries. Efforts can also be made through the National Book Trust, ICSSR or the Publication Bureau of the Government of India for a subsidised edition.

On the whole, this is a remarkable, painstakingly well-documented compilation which presents a complete overview of various publications brought out by the different agencies of the state governments in our country. The librarians and the scholars should definitely take note of this extremely useful contribution. It is also hoped that the government authorities concerned, including the Controller of Publications, shall seriously consider the various useful recommendations made by the author to improve their publishing and distribution systems, and organisation of different kinds of government publications brought out by them at the centre, or in the union Territories and States.

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May 1986

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Biogas Comes Back

D. R. Veena

BIOGAS TECHNOLOGY — A STUDY OF COMMUNITY BIOGAS PLANT

Ashish Publishing House, Delhi (1986) pp. 99 Rs. 75-00

S. Giriappa (Ed.)

RURAL ENERGY CRISIS

Himalaya Publishing House, Bombay (1986) pp. 270 Rs. 125-00

Reviewed by Alexa Fraser

In the late 1960's, biogas was viewed as a technology with the maximum potential for fuel savings in rural areas of the Third World. India was at the cutting edge of research and design, and all the signs seemed favourable for massive dissemination of the new technology. Then the bubble burst. Biogas units were too expensive, didn't function properly or were subject to too many cultural taboos to perform properly.

In the last few years, however, optimism about biogas has made a cautious return. Units built years ago have sometimes been found to be working well; while demand for new units appears to be on the increase. Moreover, cultural taboos about using human excrement for gas generation are breaking down, at least in some places. Finally, government acknowledgement of the exorbitant cost of rural electrification of remote villages has prompted some interest in the use of biogas for electricity generation. In response to all this, the VIth five year plan included a massive budget item for biogas construction. All of these topics as well as the persistent problems of feeder stock supply, cost concerns and low gas production are discussed in the two books reviewed here.

STUDY OF A COMMUNITY BIO-GAS PLANT

D. R. Veena's *Bio-gas Technology* sets out to review the technical, socio-economic, and environmental performance of a community biogas

plant in Khoraj village in Gujarat. A review of the management of the plant with suggestions for improving the plant's performance in Khoraj and elsewhere in India was also undertaken.

Perhaps one of the book's strongest points is the sophisticated multi-dimensional methodology used by the author. A combination of interviews, in-depth discussions with experts and local biogas project administrators, laboratory tests on plant bi-products, and a review of statistics and figures available from more than 5 sources are used. Copies of questionnaires and "Information Recording Cards" are supplied in the Appendix. Unfortunately, no discussion of the expected variances of data collected from both these sources is given. It seems as though the self-recording nature of data collected from the Information Recording Cards given to "dung supplying" and "gas user" families is particularly subject to question. This particular element of an otherwise strong methodology is open to criticism.

Weak points of this book include lax editing and a lack of depth in comments on the design and social effects of the unit. Editorial laxness is, in my opinion, demonstrated even in the subtitle, "A Study of Community Biogas Plant", which should clearly be written as, "A Study of a Community Biogas Plant".

In the area of plant design, the author has completely neglected the controversy over the Chinese

fixed dome Vs. the Indian *floating dome* design. Many commentators believe that the additional cost and precision of manufacture necessary for construction of the Indian design far outweigh the minor increase in gas production it affords. Given the cost over-runs described, some discussion on the decision to build a floating dome model would have been helpful.

In my view, the most serious limitation in this book is its lack of comment on the socio-economic effects of this community biogas plant. Veena says "at present 90 per cent of dung suppliers are Rabari by caste. They do not have (a) gas connection..... all gas users are Patel by caste". (p. 62) Both of these comments deserve much more discussion. What are the reasons for gas connections being held by only one caste? Why are gas users who, according to the study of connected families, have an average of 3.2 animals, providing such a small portion of the dung for the plant? Perhaps most important and completely untouched by this study are a set of questions as to what are the effects on the society as a whole of this new demand for dung? Who benefits and who loses? And what policy conclusions can be reached from these facts? These elements are not discussed at all.

The author concludes with a helpful listing of a few "key areas of concern", which include:

1. Insufficient dung feeding load,
2. Fluctuation in supply hours of gas,
3. Lack of economic viability,
4. Management problems in effluent slurry, and
5. Lack of community involvement.

The community biogas plant at Khoraj village does, however, appear to be a success, though one which could be improved upon.

SEMINAR ON RURAL ENERGY

Rural Energy Crisis is the product of a seminar organized by a sub-division of the

Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. Most papers present a broad though somewhat superficial and spotty review of the material they seek to cover.

The definition of rural energy used in this volume is very broad. Topics covered include fuelwood, social forestry, biogas, rural electrification, and mechanization of farming. While obviously no one book can cover each of these subjects thoroughly, this book does a good job of introducing these issues. Girappa's book uses a case study method, in which the majority of cases are from South India.

I will limit myself to a discussion of the chapters on biogas, though I would like to comment on the excellent collection of tables from many sources on all aspects of rural energy use in India, presented by T. R. Satish Chandran in his article, *Energy Consumption Patterns in the Rural Sector*. (Chapter 4)

There are 4 papers on biogas. D. P. Apte writes on biogas as a source of electricity for rural Maharashtra. The author discusses availability of cattle dung for feed stock purposes, various amounts of dung produced by particular breeds of cattle in use in the state, problems of water shortages and the need for *pucca* floors in cattle sheds. All these points lead to pessimistic conclusions regarding the future of biogas generally in the state.

S. T. Satyanarayana *et al* have written an extremely technical and quantitative report on the economics of biogas in Chikmangalore, Karnataka. The specifics of this analysis are likely to interest primarily those with a specific and technical concern for biogas technology dissemination. Their conclusions, however, that (a) the majority of those who have built biogas plants believe that the manure used by their digester is improved in the process, and that (b) 94 per cent of those interviewed felt that the investment was sound, are extremely encouraging findings. Moreover the average cost per KHW of biogas is comparable to that of kerosene even before the other intangible benefits of improved kitchen cleanliness and hygiene are in-

cluded. By contrast with Apte's article, this one presents a very optimistic picture.

Extrapolating from an unfortunately small sample of 25 acceptors and 69 non-acceptors of biogas plants in West Bengal, Samar K. Datta and Ananda M. Sen draw some very interesting conclusions about the characteristics of acceptors. Using contingency testing, which may be unfamiliar to many readers, the authors conclude (though they do not say so with what statistical certainty) that the only variables significantly co-related with acceptance are "caste, education, cattle per household, and number of servants per household". (p. 188) The two authors, like most others working on diffusion of innovation, have found income to be highly co-related with acceptance; and it seems possible that the number of servants is a successful proxy variable for wealth in this case. The authors' second stated aim of explaining why the acceptance of biogas has been so slow is not discussed directly. They appear to believe that acceptance rate has been slow because only the wealthy came forward to accept the new technique. They do not then discuss whether biogas is beyond the means of average villagers, or if greater wealth is co-related with some other variable which actually causes acceptance. In this article there is no discussion of the actual operation or design limitations of biogas plants. Both these topics should be included in any study, given the authors' stated agenda.

Srikant Karanjekar and Tarak Kate look at the operational efficiency of biogas digesters in villages around Wardha. This is the only study (discussed here) which compares *fixed* and *floating* dome designs. The authors point out the comparatively low cost of the fixed (*Janta*) design; and also point out that the increase in cost of this design over time has been only 1/3rd that of the floating (KVIC) design. Also, the authors looked at KVIC models to see if their metal components are being painted annually to ward off corrosion. It was found that 86 per cent of biogas plants studied (the

selection process is not discussed) were not re-painted. This will drastically shorten the plant life.

Another interesting comparison done by the authors is of the installed capacity, family size, and amount of cowdung available. From this comparison, it can be readily seen that many, if not most, biogas digesters are too large for either the family whose fuel they supply and/or for the amount of dung available to stock them. This leads to unnecessary high costs, and low average productivity. The authors conclude that 16.7 per cent of gas plants studied were running at less than 30 per cent efficiency, while 74.9 per cent of plants were running at 31 to 75 per cent efficiency. This is an extremely important finding.

The authors have also discovered that the more recently built biogas units are more likely to have a *latrine* connection, and that 43.6 per cent of plants studied were connected to latrines. Of those connected to latrines, 13.7 per cent of women had some psychological objections to using gas partially derived from human waste.

Finally, even under the adverse circumstances of improperly sized digesters, "94.9 per cent of the beneficiaries reported that biogas plants are advantageous and very useful for rural life". (p. 201).

The overall conclusions of these papers is that the people or communities who have biogas plants are happy with them; and that biogas plants appear to satisfy a large percentage of energy demand, even when working at a very low level of efficiency. Unfortunately, however, all the studies which researched the issue of acceptance, discovered that wealthier families were more likely to build a biogas plant. Even in D. R. Veena's case study of a community plant, it is the richer families who are provided with gas.

Solutions to this problem, and answers to questions about the social effects of biogas programmes on both acceptors and non-acceptors are, however, not yet forthcoming.

Alexa Fraser, a Ph.D candidate at the Wisconsin University, (U.S.A.) is currently on her field-work visit to India.

BOOK NOTES

Anand A. Yang

CRIME & CRIMINALITY IN BRITISH INDIA

University of Arizona Press Tucson, Arizona (USA) for the Association of Asian Studies and released through East-West Export Books, University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu (1985) pp. 192, Price \$ 17.95

This compilation deals with many facets of social crime, but in a different context and in a different climate, that of the break-down of the old established social or political order under the forceful impact of the Company (or the British) Raj. This volume of about half a dozen studies deals with various aspect of social crime or crime on a large and wide scale, in a historical perspective. In the process, it offers a rather unusual or interesting presentation of social or economic facts. It brings out the apparent conflict between the old and traditional perceptions and socio-cultural patterns of some sections of the native society gradually being pressurised or victimised by an alien power and the new or comparatively strange codes of social moral or legal values introduced by foreign rulers. How some traditional communities confronted or suppressed with the new frame-work of law, authority and power in various parts of the sub-continent reacted to these codes as individuals or groups.

The chapter headings and the areas or events of study are them-selves quite revealing. For example, there is a chapter on the rise of bandits in Bengal and the role of police and landlords after the enforcement of permanent settlement. Or, another similar and parallel study of bandits in their rebellious moods and operations in western India during the 19th century. Or, how various castes and tribes came to be associated with and were condemned for their "criminal" activities (This account also gives the backdrop to the concept behind the promulgation and enforcement of the Criminal Tribes Act.) A similar parallel study deals with British policy and the emergence of 'criminal tribes ideology' in western Rajasthan and Gujarat areas in respect of the Bhil tribes. There is a chapter on the study of crime in the Ganjam district between the years 1759-1837, and how the local *konds* reacted to the new intrusion (their resort to the cult of human sacrifice was perhaps a re-assertion of their identity and a frantic effort for preservation of their old institutions); and how this problem was ultimately met by the British authorities during the 1837-1863 period. There is also an interesting over-view of the crime situation and its control in Madras province from 1858 to 1947, a veritable condensation of data and trends.

On the face of it, this may appear to be a peripheral study of the historical, socio-cultural and politico-administrative processes in the accepted or

conventional sense, because rulers, *nawab* or governors, heroes and statesmen have not been allowed to dominate the stage in the usual manner of history-writing. One has a feeling that, if some of the facts brought to light, with some aspects of the changing pattern or complexion (or social and political background) of crimes can some-how be incorporated in our studies of social and political history of the British period, perhaps our old-set or 'conventional' historical view about many events or episodes or institutions as well as communities would undergo a vital change.

One may say that, by bringing to light the rather grim and dark sides of life and society under a socially, morally or emotionally alien political authority in the midst of the endless and strong currents of mutual conflicts, this group of scholars has brought to light many hidden, unseemly but important features of the material, social and moral 'dis-organisation' or 'degradation' through which the various castes and communities of the Indian sub-continent had to pass in those early days of forced association with the British mercantile colonial empire, when ordinary simple working-folk became or began to be branded and fought out as bandits, dacoits, head-hunters or human sacrificers and members of groups of *thugs* or 'criminal' tribes.

It was indeed their tragedy or misfortune that the alien laws and the social philosophy or morality, and the ideology behind it all had to treat these indigenous people, the natives of the soil, nurtured in their own social and cultural environments or codes of honour and every-day conduct, as out-castes and undersirable or dangerous elements. The poor natives not only lost their lands and their identities, their self-respect and social status as individuals or members of small groups or isolated communities, they had to fight a losing battle against alien laws or legal authorities backed with all the politico-legal and military powers of repression.

(B. H.)

Oxford University Press, Delhi

John Stratton Hawley

SURDAS : POET, SINGER AND SAINT

(1984) pp. xx+235, Price 190/-

The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies has published as their 40th volume, a study on "Surdas : Poet, Singer and Saint" in English by John Stratton Hawley.

Most of Hindi poetry during the medieval age is full of erotic sentiments expressed in restricted meter, composed and sung in the courts of rulers, big and small, for the extertainment of the courtiers. Two lofty exceptions to the trend of the times are the devotee poets, Tulsidas and Surdas who did not seek to satisfy the worldly tastes of the luxurious *darbars* but sang in devotion to the Lord incarnate in the form of Rama and Krishna and for the glory of His sublime and charming creation.

The study of Surdas by Hawley reflects not only his acumen for research in a field quite foreign to him, but also his deep interest in this great singer and saint, who not only adorned *Braj Bhasha* poetry, but is unique amongst the singers of love, devotion and self-surrender. It is well known that he was one in a saintly order known as the '*Ashta-chhap*'; but even in this order there is none other who could, in the intensity of devotion, reach the heights that Surdas did.

The author has dealt extensively with not only the experiences which gave Surdas his thought and expression, but has also tried to analyse the historical circumstances which helped to flower his genius and made him a singer not only of prayers for the mercy of the Lord, but a companion of the Lord in all the events of life, love and gaiety. In so doing, the author has critically examined the contemporary and other references contained in devotional literature like the "*Chaurasi Vaishnav Ki Varta*" and the "*Bhakta-mal*".

The English translation of Sur's *padas* (poems) is faithful, expressive and mostly accurate, and does great credit to one who has acquired knowledge of *Braj Bhasha* by his efforts and not imbibed it naturally.

It is thus useful not only for European scholars interested in getting to the heart of Eastern thought on love, worship and devotion, but also for those who wish to pursue research on different aspects of Sur's poetry and the *Bhakti* movement. (V. Sharma)

Vishnu-datta Sharma retired from the IAS about a decade ago. He has had a long, varied and crowded career under the erstwhile feudal regime and later in the post-independent democratic set-up, which is the theme of his book of reminiscences Between Two Worlds. After a long stint with the Rajasthan Public Service Commission, he is now busy in literary and academic work and social activities in Jaipur. He has also been the chairman of Hindi Sahitya Academy.

Aalekh Publishers Jaipur (1986)

Vasundara Mohan

MUSLIMS IN SRI LANKA

pp. xii+108 Price Rs. 60/-

Sri Lanka is one of the South Asian countries in which the muslims form a minority by virtue of their small numbers. Claimed to be the descendants of Arab traders, the Sri Lanka muslims (also known as *Moors*) have been an integral part of the islands's society for centuries. They have a long history punctuated by a long spell of hardship suffered during the Portuguese and Dutch occupations of Sri Lanka. In spite of the economic constraints imposed, the political intrigues into which they were drawn and the religious persecutions they were made to suffer and in the context of socio-political turmoil besetting Sri Lanka's political life, the Moors of Sri Lanka were able to save their religion from other alien influences, to develop their economy and to develop their cultural moorings.

Having been 'ceylonised in' various ways, and contributing in a big way to the island's economic prosperity, the muslim community of Sri Lanka has saved itself from any major clash with the 'core society' unlike the Tamil community of the northern province. Being an important segment of Sri Lanka society, the muslims have come to possess a significant political leverage in the country's political development.

Vasundara Mohan worked in the South Asia Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan, as a junior research fellow for four years. She was awarded Ph. D. by the University in 1984 on her thesis "*Integration of a Minority Community in Sri Lanka : A case study of Muslims in the post-independent Sri Lanka*". This book (based on her thesis) presents a consolidated analytical account of socio-economic and political activities of the muslims of Sri Lanka. It will not only add to our understanding of the problems of the muslims of Sri Lanka but will also go a long way in making the readers conversant with the trials and tribulations generally faced by a minority community in a multi-communal society.

(L. M. Jacob)

Dr. L. M. Jacob has been long associated with South Asian Studies Centre at Jaipur and has a special interest in the affairs of Sri Lanka. (This note is based on her short speech when the book was released by the Chief Secretary Government of Rajasthan).

Saraswati Prakashan, Jaipur

S. N. Tandon

THE GALTA VALLEY OF JAIPUR

pp. viii+126, Price 30/-

Galta valley is a popular landmark of Jaipur, a place of pilgrimage or religious ceremonies and a favourite picnic spot for the local residents and the visiting tourists.

This pocket book printed on art paper with photographs and dedicated to the sacred memory of the sage Galava, after whom the Galta valley has been named, is thus a welcome addition to various publications on temples and forts of Rajasthan.

The author S. N. Tandon has brought in brief the historical and religious aspects of the monuments lying on the 7 km. stretch from the Sisodia Rani Garden to the Galta Gate. He has very minutely described the location, position and historical importance of the monuments. The paintings on the walls depicting various scenes of sport or hunting and fighting have also been explained. The book is useful for tourists visiting Rajasthan, especially Jaipur, and those having some religious faith. The information is useful and interesting with black and white pictures printed on art paper. One can go through this pocket-book in a sitting of an hour.

(K. K. Khanna)

Kewal Khanna is Director (Finance) in the Jaipur Development Authority. He started as a journalist and retains his interest in that field and in books.

A Researcher's Portfolio

By P. C. Mathur

In this personal sort of contribution of what he has called "a researcher's portfolio", our colleague P. C. Mathur shares with fellow researchers and IBC readers his recent experiences and reactions as a participant in a few seminars and discussions etc. held at various centres in north India, mostly in Rajasthan. We would welcome similar reports of such academic or related activities from other parts of the country.

—Editor

Jaipur, December 23-24, 1985 : (*We start from the time when the transfer of IBC to Jaipur was just being contemplated*). Under the auspices of the Social Science Research Centre of the University of Rajasthan and three other associated institutional sponsors, we were able to invite 20-25 social scientists, majority being students of economics and public administration, to discuss the "Dynamics of India's Development : Social Science Perspective". The house-full gathering was also witness to some emotional scenes, when many participants rose to honour Prof. M. V. Mathur, one of the founding fathers of teaching and research in economics as well as public administration at the University of Rajasthan in the early 50's and who later, in 1966 rose to be its Vice-Chancellor. A good-wishes message from Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, full two-day's active presence of the inimitable Prof. V.K.R.V. Rao and Raja J. Chelliah's lucid exposition of policies in the making for India's emergent economic dynamism besides nearly 10 papers presented during 6 sessions—these were some of the main features of the seminar which climaxed with the release of a 600-page book, edited by Dr. Ramesh Arora and P. C. Mathur in honour of Prof. M. V. Mathur, entitled *Development Policy and Administration in India*. The Delhi-based publisher, R. K. Paul, was also present on the occasion.

New Delhi, February 19-21, 1986 : The faculty of the Centre for Political Studies (CPS) of Jawahar Lal Nehru, University has been, as Vice-Chancellor, Prof. R.N. Srivastava as well as C.P.S. Chairman, Prof. Ashwini. K. Ray were both gracious enough to reiterate, enjoying the hospitality of practically all the university departments of political science located in diverse parts of India. But it was only 16 years since the inception of CPS that it decided to take the initiative in organizing a seminar. In tune with its location and academic status, the CPS decided to crack a really tough nut. The seminar was about the methods and tools for explaining Indian politics.

Students of political science have rarely picked up the courage to define 'politics' and the parameters and perimeter of "Indian Politics" of a sub-conti-

mental polity characterized by cultural continuity, regional diversity and economic duality. These aspects have not yet been subjected to systematic exploration, let alone the question of elaboration of explanatory *schema* encompassing India's multi-plex social structure, myriad political institutions modelled upon a variety of foreign systems and the unmistakable economic dynamism which has created a new range of ideological tensions. The theme : "Explaining Indian Politics : Problems and Issues" certainly called out for a social science approach to analysis. But Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan and his other CPS colleagues took the brave step of inviting *only* political scientists, which caused many eye-brows to be raised, and no doubt, some academic egos to be bruised in the JNU, a campus already teeming with social scientists with established reputations for explaining Indian politics, including some well-known TV celebrities who also dwell upon the conduct of its foreign policy.

The gathering was fairly representative, regionally as well as academically, and though the dice was clearly loaded in favour of the adherents of Marxism, even a confirmed Liberal could enjoy the fierce polemics which took place, when they tried to answer such questions as : What is the nature of the Indian State? Of late, liberals have begun to concede that Marxism as a *method* of study has some merits, while Marxists have begun to recognize that they share the *postivist* outlook with the liberals. But even such accommodative postures of ideological *bhai-bhaism* cannot wish away the reality that the empirical regularities of Indian politics have been barely scratched by data-minded scholars belonging to either of these rival schools of socio-scientific research.

At a more personal level, it was a pleasant surprise to discover that one's own field of *panchayati raj* in Rajasthan could be suitably dressed up (*vide* our paper on Politics of Rural Development in a Liberal-Industrial State : Some Reflections on the Centripetal Tendencies and Development of Local Self-Government in India) to puzzle some Marxists with such posers as to why the "empowerment" of the people was initiated in a backward economy characterized by a handicapped ecology like Rajasthan, while the rural elites of agriculturally dynamic regions like the Punjab and Haryana were indifferent about wresting control of the State apparatus for delivery of local-level benefits ?

Jaipur, March 22-23, 1986 : Having missed the opportunity to attend a seminar on a similar theme at Alwar organized by the Government Arts College on March 8-9, 1986 (but having contributed

a paper entitled (Role of Rajasthan's Princes in India's Freedom Struggle : A Pre-Documentation Note), it was a pleasure to sit through the Jaipur seminar on "India's Freedom Struggle and Rajasthan's Contribution" organized by the University of Rajasthan's Department of Political Science under the auspices of its University Leadership Programme. The pleasure was, essentially academic. It was, in the first place, instructive to watch political scientists trying to encroach upon a historians domain. It was even more fascinating to find long-time residents of Rajasthan trying their best to narrow their viewpoints from the country as a whole to one of its regions, where the British rule was not only indirect, but its imprint was almost negligible.

The people of Rajasthan—commoners, military commanders and political rulers—had no doubt, in their own time, given ample evidence of their "love for freedom", and as Dr. G. N. Sharma emphasized in his presidential address opposed alien rule right from 7th century A.D.", but as one listened to the 20-odd papers and presentations at the seminar, one really felt that the conceptual issues involved in encapsulating all types of reformative (e.g. Swami Dayanand's *Arya Samaj*) and peasant movements in the main-stream of India's "freedom struggle" have not yet even been properly appreciated or articulated by social scientists. Then there is the question (or the challenge) of historians digging into private and public archives in order to prove Dr. G.N. Sharma's rather extravagant claims(s) that ".....our freedom fighters strained every nerve to contribute their mite to deliver the country from British domination" and that "they fought against the alien and local rulers' domination to the last ditch".

Enough evidence was brought forth during the deliberations to show that Rajasthan's recent regional history has had many twists of which the national (and more so the nationalist) historians are not aware. For example, as testified by a senior colleague with a long record of leftist political activism, (K. C. Pande) one of the major pre-1947 agrarian movements in Rajasthan viz. The *Bijolia* movement (which antedates and outrivals, in many key dimensions, the more researched *Bardoli* Satyagraha) had the covert support of the Maharana of Mewar.

One can only hope that as practitioners of a field science, historians would take greater care to consult their other social science colleagues before they start their archival toils—at least in case of princely states where their "all-India" views are cramped by British India spectacles, if not British political theories about imperialism, feudalism and nationalism.

Bikaner, March 29–30, 1986 : Off to Bikaner! (An overnight journey made more pleasant by spouse's company, but made rather painful by the Railway's mis-allocation of 'regular' compartment in

place of the 2-tier coach). A seminar on "Integrated Rural Development in Rajasthan" (IRDP) was organized by the Government Dungar College's young head (R. K. Choubisa) of its youngest post-graduate department viz. Department of Public Administration, with financial assistance from the ICSSR's North Regional Centre whose witty patriarch, Prof. K. Sheshadri, is now packing his bags to lead a retired life south of the Vindhyas after a distinguished stint at the Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Bikaner is a fairly big city located in the midst of Rajasthan desert and the naturally warm (mind you, it was only March, not May or June when the mercury rises much higher) surroundings provided an "ideal" locale for discussion of the problems of rural development with special reference to the much-vaunted IRDP in the implementation of which Rajasthan has not only topped in the past couple of years, but in whose conceptualization (in its previous *Antodaya* incarnation under the Janata Party Rule, during June 1977-June 1980) Rajasthan policy-elite can be said to have played a genetic role. But, in fact, it is never (or rarely) acknowledged as such, at least in the government circulars and background materials.

It was indeed an experience to see district-level academics trying to 'learn' about the administrative maze through which beneficiaries are identified and provided various types of 'assistance-packages' to cross the "poverty line". It was equally educative to find bankers, block development officers and other district-level bureaucrats trying to explain the specifics of their roles and goal-realizations. But our queries (*vide* a paper entitled "IRDP : What is 'integrated' in Integrated Rural Development Programme and Who Does It At The State and District Levels in Rajasthan (India)?" remained mostly unanswered, while our oral as well as written laudatory references to Rajasthan's achievements with respect to IRDP brought forth only silent approval *not* spontaneous appaluse, in a gathering of public servants directly involved in its implementation. Was it a case merely of modesty? Or is it that more research is needed to uncover the realities behind the government data ?

Bikaner is dotted with several institutions of higher education ; and regionalistic chauvinism in the form of the demand for a university at Bikaner is likely to surface any time. In our view while Bikaner may be developed as a centre of post-graduate and graduate teaching, the 'needs' of the region would be served better by locating an agricultural university at Suratgarh, while Bikaner's veterinary college certainly deserves to be upgraded.

Jaipur, April 3 to 5, 1986 : From the arid tracts of sandy Rajasthan, the Peoples' Republic of China may be quite far away ; but, as far as India's community of social scientists is concerned, the research

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attention showered upon both appears to be equally mineral. It was, therefore, a thrilling experience to sit with a group of South Asian Studies' specialists at the University of Rajasthan's Studies Centre and listen to carefully researched papers on "China and South Asia" in the relaxing environs of the university guest-house. In all, nearly 10 papers were presented, mostly by the S.A.S.C. faculty, while some distinguished New Delhi-based scholars like Dr. G. P. Deshpande, Air Commodore Jasjit Singh, Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty and Dr. R. N. Ramachandran maintained a critical evaluation through their interventions by way of their running commentaries on the various presentations, which are going to be revised and edited by Prof. Ramakant in the form of a book-length publication. True to the research conventions set by the Sapru House-based Indian School of International Studies (which has since been merged into the Jawaharlal Nehru University as its School of International Studies) most of the papers were meticulously re-compiled dossiers of news-agency reportage. The researchers' usual quest for trends, patterns and models seemed to be missing. Such a quest has been attempted in the two volumes on *Government and Politics in South Asia* (edited by P. C. Mathur) the first being devoted to "The Domestic Scene" and the second to "The External Dimensions", both published by Printwell Publishers, Jaipur and both compiling only the products of the S.A.S.C. faculty during the sixties and early seventies.

Given such a favourable start, "Area Studies" in India must not become 'un-academic' compendia of newspapers clippings, with this rather sure-to-annoy belief, we butted in the discussions on every possible occasion only to find that many China-watchers in India are still groping in the dark even with regard to South Asians' reactions and attitudes to Beijing's policies and policy-priorities. They do not have any reliable 'guesstimates' about the internal dynamics of foreign policy making processes in the People's Republic of China, which loom large over the whole of South Asia. China remains an enigma a land of mystery and intrigue for most of us.

Chandigarh, April 22-27, 1986 : Researchers also like to teach, at least occasionally. What better students could one expect than senior post-graduate teachers assembled at the Zonal Summer Institute sponsored by the University Grants Commission (UGC) in quest of its goal of faculty improvement in all disciplines? By making daylight bus-journeys from and to Delhi, one could avail of the welcome invitation extended by T. R. Sharma of the Punjab University Department of Political Science to deliver four lectures on the "Conceptual Aspects of Research Methodology" to an audience of veteran political scientists from Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and Chandigarh. It was exciting to marshal an array of inter-disciplinary 'insights' in order to convince fellow-academics that, although there is, in terms of the explanatory and/or illuminatory power of the well-known western con-

cepts and research methods in social science, certainly something special about India, but it is hardly 'unique'—except in the limited sense that we seem to be exporting nothing while importing all types of ideologies from all types of western ecologies. The mature audience did seem to readily endorse our thesis of the 'infancy' of the social science and the inherent fertility of the 'systems analysis' approach towards its development, while at least a couple of teachers present displayed praise-worthy familiarity with Kuhn's and Popper's ideas regarding the nature, necessity and rigidities of scientific research.

However, our impression seems to be that Indians would prefer to go in for 'technology' with or without 'science'. If true on a wider scale, the political implications of this postulate deserve widest possible analysis in the context of the present-day power-elites' penchant for import of technology without commensurate support to basic research about its social assimilation and ecological adaptation.

As a 'Hindu' meeting either only other 'Hindu' relatives and friends, or being confined to a university campus where anti-secular animosities are less likely to flare up, it is not possible to comment upon the nature of 'the Punjab problem' or the elements' which nurture 'extremists' and/or 'terrorists' on its soil. But one would like to report a couple of trend-pointers. Elements obviously sympathetic to the 'extremist' and 'terrorist' cause simply love to enter into intellectual debate about their rights and wrongs—at least so testified a trusted colleague skilled in research techniques.

Punjabis in general seem to display a healthy 'appetite' for books, which one would normally associate with residents of other parts of India with much more well-known scholastic achievements. At least the nearly two dozen large (by Jaipur standards, they are very huge) bookshops in the fashionable 17 Sector market and the three enormous (by Jaipur standard—what is the use of repeating oneself?) bookstores right on the university campus itself testify to this fact. Finally, despite the ruthless (police) suppression of Naxalites activities (before the Akalis and Khalistanis up-staged the ideological extremists) a lot of Marxist literature (one almost finds irresistibly adding "by Jaipur standard") has been translated into Punjabi and transported to the basements of well-stocked bookshops.

A casual visit is hardly the occasion to adumbrate any causal inferences from such stray evidence, but one hopes that the ideological (or more precisely, ideational) roots or 'fertilizers' of the current crises in Punjab are not lost sight of in the body-counts by newspaper head-lines about the terrorists' activities. In this context it was a pleasure to meet Dr. Pramod Kumar of the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID) and learn some details about the well-funded studies of communalism that he and his colleagues are executing under the conceptual mentorship of a galaxy of scholars, most of whom have flirted with the 'left'.

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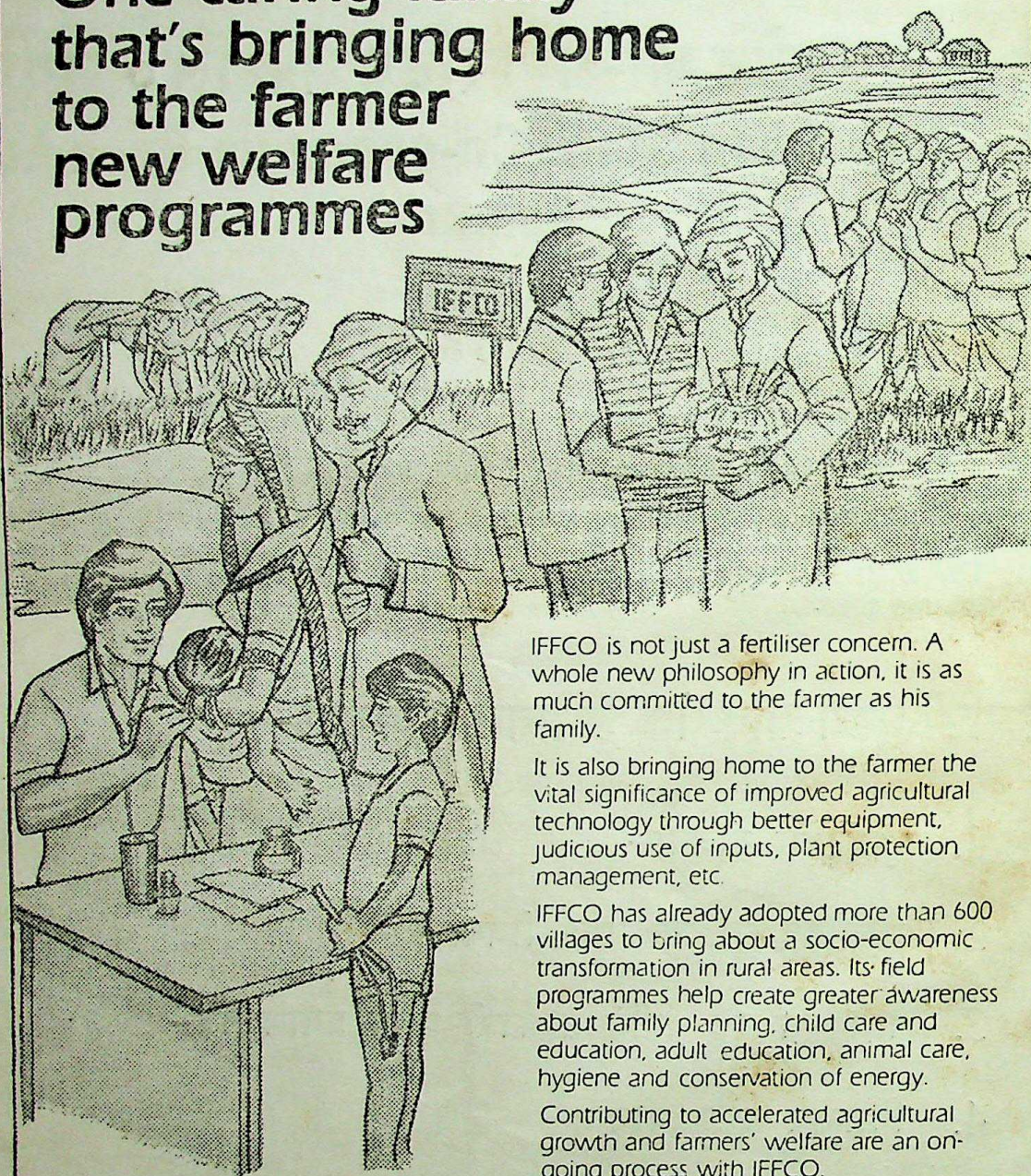
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	World Development Report, 1985	Rakesh Hooja
Edward Nukhovich	Disarmament and the Developing Countries	T. T. Poulouse
Corinne Browne and Robert Muriore	Time Bomb : A Nuclear History	
P. C. Mathur (Ed.)	Govt. and Politics in South Asia : The External Scene Vol. II	Promod K. Misra
Bina Agarwal	Cold Hearths and Barren Slopes : The Wood Crisis in the Third World	Alexa Fraser
Utsa Patnaik and Manjari Dingwaney (Eds.)	Chains of Servitude : Bondage and Slavery in India	Nirmal Sengupta
Hein Streefkerk	Industrial Transition in Rural India	M. K. Singh
John W. Gardner	Excellence-Can we be Equal and Excellent too ?	Kewal Khanna
S. R. Mahnot	Industrial Data Book	V. K. Gaur
Sheila Gujral	Two Black Cinders	Santosh Gupta
B. M. Shankhdhar	Press, Politics and Public Opinion in India	Nityananda Sinha

OTHER FEATURES

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Making Waves

A Fresh Bunch of Letters

NEWS AND REPORTS

First International Conference on Geomorphology
Asia-Pacific Information Network in Social Sciences
Educating People for Peace

राजस्थान आवासन मण्डल, जयपुर

राजस्थान आवासन मण्डल राजस्थान के विभिन्न शहरों में जन साधारण को समस्त आधुनिकतम सुविधाओं से युक्त वस्तियों में आवास उपलब्ध कराने के लिए निरन्तर प्रयत्नशील हैं। आवासों का किशतों पर, एक मुश्त खरीद पर एवं स्वचित्त पोषित योजनान्तर्गत आवंटन किया जा रहा है।

मण्डल के बढ़ते चरण

- ❖ राजस्थान के 49 शहरों के 1,52,581 आवेदक मण्डल से आवास प्राप्त करने लिए पंजीकृत।
- ❖ मण्डल द्वारा अब तक 72,005 को आवास आवंटित। इनमें से 70 प्रतिशत आवंटी मात्र आर्थिक दृष्टि से कमजोर एवं अल्प आय वर्ग से।
- ❖ 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में 1984-85 एवं 1985-86 में आर्थिक दृष्टि से कमजोर 11,828 व्यक्तियों को मकान बनाकर उपलब्ध कराये। वर्ष 1986-87 में 5,000 को लाभान्वित करने का लक्ष्य।
- ❖ मण्डल द्वारा जयपुर में उपनगर के रूप में विकसित की जानेवाली 1500 एकड़ क्षेत्र में फैली भारत में अपने किस्म की अनूठी विशाल "मानसरोवर आवासीय योजना" में 40,000 से अधिक आवास निर्माण का कार्यक्रम। इसका परियोजना मूल्य अनुमानतः 120 करोड़ रुपये। इस योजना में अब तक 4,000 आवासों का निर्माण कार्य लगभग पूर्ण एवं 7500 का निर्माण कार्य प्रगति पर।
- ❖ मण्डल निर्माण सामग्री की गुणवत्ता की ओर विशेष सजग। इसके लिये केन्द्रीय प्रयोगशाला के अतिरिक्त मण्डल के प्रत्येक वृत्त एवं मुख्यालय पर परीक्षण शालायें।
- ❖ मण्डल सस्ते और मजबूत मकानों के निर्माण के लिए एवं जोधपुर की "साइट एवं सर्विसेज योजना" के लिए आवासीय एवं नगरीय विकास निगम द्वारा अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर पुरस्कृत।

मण्डल का लक्ष्य आपको अपना घर

—सचिव

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- | | |
|---|---|
| A. L. Gandhi
Right to Property—Its Changing Dimensions
<i>Scientific Publishers, Jodhpur, 1985, Rs. 126.00</i> | Ed. Manu Shroff and S. Guhan
Essays on Economic Progress and Welfare (In Honour of I. G. Patel)
<i>Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986, Rs. 180.00</i> |
| S. N. Sahai & D. V. Kothari
Rajasthan—Bibliographic Index in Social Sciences
<i>Scientific Publishers, Jodhpur, 1985, Rs. 140.00</i> | N. V. Raman
Indian Diplomatic Service—First Thirty Four Years
<i>Chanakya Publications, Delhi, 1986, Rs. 120.00</i> |
| Robin Clarke
Science and Technology in World Development
<i>Oxford University Press 1985, £ 4.95</i> | Anita Ghosh
Netaji—A Realist and a Visionary
<i>Vijayshree Enterprises, Varanasi, 1986, Rs. 160.00</i> |
| Nalini Kant Jha
Internal Crisis and Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Foreign Policy
<i>Janaki Prakashan Patna, 1985, Rs. 100.00</i> | Ramshray Roy and R. K. Srivastava
Dialogues on Development—The Individual, Society and Political Order
<i>Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1986, Rs. 140.00</i> |
| O. P. Joshi
The Sociology of Indian Art
<i>Rawat Publishers, Jaipur, 1985, Rs. 250.00</i> | Thomas Panthan and Kenneth L. Deustch (Ed)
Political Thought in Mordern India
<i>Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1986, Rs. 175.00</i> |
| D. S. Rao
Three Decades—A Short History of Sahitya Akademy
<i>1954-1985 Sahitya Akademy, Delhi, 1985, Rs. 30.00</i> | Ed. Dilip K. Basu and Richard Sisson
Social and Economic Development in India—A Reassessment
<i>Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1986, Rs. 140.00</i> |
| Peter Penner
The Patronage Bureaucracy in North India;
<i>(The Robert M. Byrd and James Thomson School 1320-1870) Chanakya Publications, Delhi, 1986, Rs. 180.00</i> | S. N. Faridi
Indian Muslims and National Integration
<i>Sardar Book Depot, Agra, 1986, Rs. 15.00</i> |
| S. K. Dhawan
Discovery of Indira Gandhi
<i>Wave Publications, Delhi, 1986, Rs. 200.00.</i> | Ed. S. P. Gulati
Quintessence of Islamic History and Culture
<i>Amar Prakashan, Delhi, 1986, Rs. 120.00</i> |

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Making Waves

—with the IBC

been only our zeal like that of new converts to or the favourable response we have had, but it IBC, can now ride the crest of new waves of

the numerous problems connected with its move d publication from a new place—our frequent our efforts to win back and mobilise not only book-reviews and advertisements, the endless pro- quests to the publishers for review copies of their s to the contributors for their assignments; the managing and editing a 'non-commercial' and sored by no one and hence captive to none porters—in spite of all these strains and tensions, the "IBC" in our otherwise full and tight work our quota of varied and interesting personal ex-

in some invisible compensations too, and rewards ideavours have been worth-while indeed. IBC with many old, long-lost friends. We have a many old and regular subscribers or contribu- v supporters. Our circle has grown like the rings h spread out when a pebble is thrown into a

ples, the fraternity of IBC friends is growing. ave thus been satisfying, full of encouragement ys. We are happy that, after the transplant, the oots and is slowly gaining strength.

ts, albiet among the local official circles were with in March. One of them gave the editor a plea- ntaneous remark, "You are assuming consider- nge and elating to hear that a 'dry and academic' BC, devoted primarily to book-reviews and stru- ld be considered an instrument or expression of what politics and bureaucracy are about. Is it l really meant that through the IBC columns, n could be generated or influenced. Perhaps its 'power', the hand-maid of communication or all, power is what every-one seems to be after observation at its face value, as an acknowledge- status which the IBC has enjoyed as well as a e role which it can and ought to play amidst the ot the world?) scene of ideas and institutions. us of our immense responsibilities.

(continued over-leaf)

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Indian Book Chronicle

Making Waves

—with the IBC

Vol. XI No. 7 July 1986

Two Old Letters....

Now that about half-a-dozen issues of the reborn IBC have come out, we can at least respond to some old and steady friends like Mr. John Lall for example, who had written to the founder-editor a couple of years ago expressing concern about the likely closure of the journal. To quote from his letter (published in Vol. IX No. 17 of the IBC dated September 1, 1984) :—

“I want to know whether it is really true that the Chronicle is in danger of fading out for lack of support. It is difficult to see how a journal I have always relied on for sound reviews of significant current publications could just disappear, and all because all of us who have benefited from it have not been honest enough to acknowledge our debt by sending in subscriptions. I include myself.....”

Mr. Lall had then attributed this at indifference or lack of interest to at least two factors namely, “the intense politicisation of the reading public” and the poor response of (what he called) a pretentious but shallow intellectual community with only “few of them having anything worth while to say” while most are keen or content “to receive the ego strokes of their mutual admiration society, and to give them in return.” However, Mr. Lall had rightly urged,

“Let us forget them for a while, and turn to friends of the Chronicle. There must be many. Let them at least come forward. ...

Perhaps it has been only our zeal like that of new converts to an old established faith, or the favourable response we have had, but it does seem that we, in the IBC, can now ride the crest of new waves of hope and fulfilment.

In spite of the numerous problems connected with its move from Delhi and resumed publication from a new place—our frequent hassles with the printers; our efforts to win back and mobilise not only subscriptions but also book-reviews and advertisements, the endless process of sending out requests to the publishers for review copies of their publications or reminders to the contributors for their assignments; the day-to-day challenges of managing and editing a ‘non-commercial’ and ‘independent’ journal, sponsored by no one and hence captive to none except its friends and supporters—in spite of all these strains and tensions, and our struggle to fit in the “IBC” in our otherwise full and tight work schedules, we have had our quota of varied and interesting personal experiences.

There have been some invisible compensations too, and rewards to indicate that our endeavours have been worth-while indeed. IBC has renewed our contacts with many old, long-lost friends. We have established new links with many old and regular subscribers or contributors and gained some new supporters. Our circle has grown like the rings of ripples and waves which spread out when a pebble is thrown into a pool of water.

Like those ripples, the fraternity of IBC friends is growing. These past few months have thus been satisfying, full of encouragement and promise in many ways. We are happy that, after the transplant, the Chronicle has found its roots and is slowly gaining strength.

Is it assuming power ?

Our first contacts, albeit among the local official circles were with some ex-colleagues early in March. One of them gave the editor a pleasant surprise with his spontaneous remark, “You are assuming considerable power.” It felt strange and elating to hear that a ‘dry and academic’ type of journal like the IBC, devoted primarily to book-reviews and struggling for its survival, could be considered an instrument or expression of ‘power’. Well, power is what politics and bureaucracy are about. Is it not ? Perhaps our friend really meant that through the IBC columns, enlightened public opinion could be generated or influenced. Perhaps that is what he meant by its ‘power’, the hand-maid of communication or persentation arts. After all, power is what every-one seems to be after these days. We took his observation at its face value, as an acknowledgement of the goodwill and status which the IBC has enjoyed as well as a challenge for us about the role which it can and ought to play amidst the changing Indian (why not the world ?) scene of ideas and institutions. Such remarks also remind us of our immense responsibilities.

(contd. over-leaf column 2)

(continued over-leaf)

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MAKING WAVES—(Contd.)**Have we put our necks in the halter ?**

We also heard from an old friend, a prominent and popular columnist and man of letters who has been active in both the printed and audio-visual media for long. In all sincerity and affection and his usual bonhomie, he asked the chief editor, "Why have you put your neck in the halter ?

Yes, why indeed ? We asked ourselves. When one is past the prime of life ? Past the magic charm of hopes and dreams (which could be realised in the once younger days) and past the climax of craving and worldly ambitions. And when the venture brings nothing but problems galore !

Our humble reply was, "Only because it had to be done. By us, if by none else. For, we were not happy about the prospects of the IBC closing down."

Not that the IBC has been the most dear or precious thing in our lives, our life's goal or our *dharma*.

But no doubt it has been like an open window to bring in fresh air into cloistered rooms, a life-line to freedom of thought and expression for many, a living link between many actors or performers in the endless game of the pursuit of knowledge enshrined in and enriched through the medium of books. We felt that the 'lifeway' or the 'open sesame' door to such an adventure as knowledge is, should remain open.

Now the challenge is to keep it open and alive as a two-way and open-ended channel for exchange of ideas, for dialogues and discussions between knowledge-makers as well as its keepers and seekers, and to sustain the 'reading habit' and the love for books of many in India and abroad.

Our Trust and Commitment

Like so many friends, we feel strongly that a journal like IBC has a place in the lives of all of us. It must continue to exist, making independent comments on or assessments of books as they come out by the hundreds, and thereby serve the academic, professional and intellectual communities all over India and outside. There must be such a forum of independent judgement and appraisal, an open bridge of mutual understanding, a multi-circuit, multi-level but open and two-way channel of communication between the authors and their reading public, between the scholars and the students, the publishers and all others in the book trade, the enlightened patrons and visitors of the public libraries, and those in the seats of education or learning and also in the citadels of power.

This is our trust, our commitment !

Since we started at Jaipur, we have also received many letters, including a few from old (personal) friends and new contacts who were approached by members of our local managerial/editorial team in our personal capacity so as to arouse their interest and widen the circle of IBC supporters. (Else—where we are publishing some extracts from these letters under the column—*A Fresh Bunch of Letters*. A few *Ideas and Suggestions* thus received have also been spelt out in the June issue.). Many friends, old and new, have sent promises of support, and we draw sustenance from these gestures. Even the founder-editor, Amrik Singh, has

(contd. on next page)

TWO OLD LETTERS—(Contd.)

"The Chronicle must continue. The world of books in India would be the poorer without it. If the publication of this letter will induce even one reader to prove that he is a friend of the journal, it will have been worth it. ... Good luck for the Chronicle,.....!"

We also take the liberty to reproduce some extracts from an editorial piece by Amrik Singh last year, (*Saving the IBC* from IBC Vol. X No. 1, April 15, 1985). ;—

"With reference to the announcement that the IBC would cease publication at the end of this year, a large number of letters have been received. ... Some of them have been very touching and I cannot but help to quote one of them :—

"Your farewell to IBC (IBC January '85) is saddening. The only other occasion when I felt miserable like this was the demise of *Shankar's Weekly*. SW enlivened me; IBC updates me. Fading away of IBC would be a terrible loss."

This correspondent had felt infuriated at "the callousness of librarians and publishers towards IBC" and had added,

"It is a pity that while celluloid magazines are proliferating in the country, scholarly periodicals should perish due to indifference of the literary circles . . ."

"May I appeal to you, Sir, to please find out some way to keep IBC going. Advertisements, influence, appeal—nothing should be spared to keep it going. Can't the SSAC/ICSSR and CSIR do anything in the matter ? . . ."

Such questions and pleas of anguish or concern still persist. As Amrik Singh had then observed, "This particular letter comes from a professional librarian, which was one of the target groups that the IBC tried to reach. On the whole, the IBC failed in this task for the simple reason that the rot in the

(contd. on next page column I)

TWO OLD LETTERS (Contd.)

profession has gone very deep. Most of them (the librarians) like the majority of academics, do not feel concerned about books—how they are written, published and circulated? who buys them and who can buy them and a whole host of other questions.”

“A large number of friends of the IBC have offered to contribute to the establishment of a Fund so that it becomes possible to keep on running the journal. In a few cases, even promises have been made. Gratifying though these initiatives are, the proposal does not seem to be a particularly feasible one.

“Some-what to my surprise, a couple of publishers have written warm and enthusiastic letters. One of them has gone to the extent of asking the particular Federation with which he is connected to take some initiative in the matter. ...Till these letters arrived, my own perception of things was that whoever else might be interested in the journal, the publishers were the least interested. I have had to revise my opinion”

There you are ! An old faithful friend and an author-cum-professional librarian, whose letters have been reproduced above, and then the founder editor of the IBC himself—all of them pointing towards the problems or challenges which a journal like the IBC must face and the supporting roles or responsibilities which must be shared not only by the reviewers or readers, but also by the publishers and librarians.

The situation has not changed much since the above comments were made last year, except that the IBC has *not* closed down and its re-appearance from Jaipur has been graciously welcomed by many friends and well-wishers from all over the country. Else-where we give a sample of their responses. *What have you to say dear friend ?*

(B. H.)

MAKING WAVES—(contd.)

felt somewhat re-assured by the renewed response, as could be seen from his recently published piece (in the March-April issue of the journal).

But we are not out of the woods. Not by any means yet. More than the ‘financial’ or ‘intellectual’ support, it is the cooperation from the local printers which have been our weak point during these past few months. We are, once again, extremely sorry that we are running behind the schedule and it has not been possible as yet to catch up with the arrears

We have also not been able to communicate *individually* with the old regular friends and contributors who have stood by the IBC through all the ups and downs all these 10 years of its existence. We gratefully acknowledge their long association and greet them afresh as share-holders of this intellectual or academic enterprise. IBC has grown and will grow with their involvement. We earnestly request them all to respond to some of the *Ideas and Suggestions* outlined in the last issue.

We hope that through the efforts all of us, the circles of IBC friends and well-wishers will grow, almost like ripples and waves extending out-wards. For us, each contributor or subscriber or reader and well wisher of the Chronicle is “a person”, a some body who can make ripples or create waves, who can stir even the most placid or some-times stagnant pools of knowledge in the back-yards. We hope these waves of communication and shared knowledge will not fade or lose their strength. In fact, we want IBC to emerge and grow like a flowing stream of fresh water gaining its strength and force as it tumbles down and touches new landscapes or horizons, as it flows from its source to its ultimate meeting-point, the vast unfathomable ocean of knowledge in the minds of the multitude.

—Bhupendra Hooja
Rakesh Hooja

Our Recent and Forthcoming Books

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|---------------------------------|------------------|

Aalekh Publishers
M. I. Road, Jaipur

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A Fresh Bunch Of Letters—

(We present here a random pick-up of sextract from some recent communications received since after it was decided to shift IBC from Delhi to Jaipur, —Editor.)

“... It is a very good venture that you have undertaken. We would certainly contribute our small bit towards it.

Dr. Iqbal Narain, Member Secretary, ICSSR
New Delhi, 1st March, 1986.

“... It was very nice to meet you at the Indo-Dutch Workshop in Jaipur. I send you the two issues of the Indian Book Chronicle you gave me during the workshop. . . .

“I will do my best to inform you of studies on India made by Dutch scholars and authors. Since I am back I have seen some interesting historical studies published by the departments of Dutch universities.

“My visit and your articles have raised my interest to know more of Rajasthan”

—Dr. L. Schnek—Sand Bergen, Universiteit van Amsterdam,
Anthropologisch-Sociologisch Centrum,
Amsterdam, 24th March, 1986.

“... Please be kind to renew our subscription for the year 1986

P. N. Choudhary, South Asia Institute,
University of Heidelberg (Germany)
(Branch office) Gandhi Marg, New Delhi

“I am glad to . . . learn of your new enterprise of running the Indian Book Chronicle. I know about this publication We do need an appropriate forum to join the world of books with the potential readers in an era of rapid development.

“I shall be glad to help you in any way I can, and your idea of . . . a feature on Unesco is thoughtful and timely”

“For a future issue of your journal, I would suggest the theme “Indian National Identity” to which the various trends of Indian Nationalism could be invited to contribute in order to understand the making up a composit culture and a board based nationalism”.

Dr. Prem Kripal, President, International Educational Consortium,
(New Delhi) March 27, 1986.

“It was good to hear that friends of IBC from Jaipur have taken over the responsibility to bring out the review periodical, and that every effort is being made to maintain its continuity. Please rest assured of my support, I am informing my colleagues and other friends of IBC in Pune”

Dr. D. N. Dhangare, Prof. and Head of
Department of Sociology, University of
Poona. (Pune) March 31, 1986.

“... Regarding your Book Chronicle, I shall be happy to lend my support to it

Dr. Om Prakash, Director,
Centre for Management of Development,
Modinagar U. P., April 1, 1986.

“I shall be happy if you send the book on Bangladesh for review to my colleague . . . I wish your journal all success.

Dr. Jayant Kumar Ray, Centenary Professor
of International Relations, Centre of South
and South East Asian Studies—Calcutta.

“In case you get a good book, I shall be happy to write a review

Dr. Shanti Swaroop Prof. & Head of Department of Political Science, University of Kashmir, (Srinagar) 7th April, 1986.

“... I would be very happy to be associated with the new task you have taken in your hands. I would be glad to send our publications for review in the journal. You can also count on my help to carry out book reviews in IBC

B. A. V. Sharma, Department of Political Science, Osmania University, Hyderabad
9th April, 1986.

“Wish you best of luck in your new project. I can send you a complete list of *Lekhika Sangh* members and also of the *Authors Guild of India*

“You must have read in the papers about the seminar on children literature organised by our organisation. I am sending you a brief report

“I am also sending my latest publication “*Two Black Cinders*”.

“... I would suggest that you should set aside a few pages for translation from regional languages and profiles of writers other than those writing in English.

“... Do let me know in details the format you are planning for this magazine. I will send you more material and list of persons who can assist you in your venture.

Shiela Gujral, President, Lekhika Sangh,
Defence Colony, New Delhi 10th April, 1986.

I am happy to learn that you are taking over the editorship of the IBC. I shall be happy to review the book *Crime and Criminality in India* and also accept similar assignments in the future.

Bhawanimal (IPS retd.) Member, Rajasthan Public Services Commission, Ajmer.

April 11, 1986.

"...I am sending you here-with some book reviews after receiving your letter.....which in my view may interest the intellectual readers of the IBC...I have not been able to hit on any themes for a regular column for the IBC...

"Of course, there has been one development in the book-publishing industry which can be termed as whole-some. This pertains to a planned production of books right from getting authors to write new books, competent editing of *Mss.* publishing schedules, planned distributions and sales of smaller editions, say of 2,000 copies of a non-fiction list and breaking even financially...

"Of course, bank finances are not available to book publishers, but probably none of our leading publishers had attempted to secure such services previously. Otherwise, total credit needs of publishers from banks are not more than Rs 25 million. In a total credit provided by banks to industries of nearly Rs. 2,000 million, the aggregate sum sought after by book publishers is not very large. The point is that book publishers in India have so far failed to convince commercial banks about credit-worthiness of their publishing ventures..."

Further,

"...To spell out my ideas about bank credits to be made available to Indian publishers,... I will let you have a piece, probably next month... You might tentatively schedule it for the issue bearing July 1986 date-line.

Om Prakash Arya,
Techno-Economic Analyst, Bandra East,
Bombay. April 4, 1986

"I am glad to know that you have taken over Indian Book Chronicle from Jaipur. I find little time to write now-a-days except what one has to do for one's bread and butter. However, if there is a stirringly interesting book that you think we could write on, please let us know...

Chanchal Sarkar, Hanz Khas, New Delhi,
26th April, 1986.

"What a pleasure it was to receive your letter. Certainly, I could hear echoes through the corridors of time... You have certainly caught me on a wrong foot. I am leaving tonight .. In the circumstances, I can only say at this stage, that I warmly applaud your endeavour to have a journal devoted to books. When I return back home .. I shall get in touch with you again,

P. N. Haksar, Shanti Niketan, New Delhi
April 16, 1986.

"I am glad to note that you are thinking in terms of building up a circle of academicians. I have a few friends who are interested in some of the intellectual activities you indicated in your letter. Apart from me, I had a talk with two of my friends who expressed their willingness to be included in the circle

S. G. Bhat, Director, Special Studies Division Planning Department,
Karnataka Government Secretariat,
Bangalore 25th April, 1986.

"We are pleased to learn that you have taken over the publication of "Indian Book Chronicle", We wish you success. Through separate post we have mailed to you one set of *Regional Co-operation and Development in South Asia* (ed. Bhabani Sen Gupta)

Vinod Kumar, Director, South Asia Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Darya Ganj New Delhi
28th April, 1986.

"I shall be highly obliged if you kindly send me literature about your *Chronicle* that you mentioned during your visit. As I promised verbally, I shall be happy to do my best to help you in this respect.

V. S. Mathur, 428, Sector 22 A, Chandigarh
28th April, 1981.

"First of all, accept my congratulation and good wishes for taking over this publication of this, India's renowned book reviewing journal IBC. Hope you will continue the tradition set up by Prof. Amrik Singh, I wish you smooth sailing. I am taking interest in your journal. I will do for this journal whatever is possible within my limited capacity.

M. P. Satija, Guru Nanak Dev University,
Amritsar May 6, 1986.

"...The University Central Library, Udaipur has already been subscribing to the journal Indian Book Chronicle" since 1983. We had written to the Delhi address for sending the invoice for 1986. but nothing has been heard from them so far. Hope they must have communicated to you.

Ms. Bhargava, Dy. Librarian, University
Central Library, Sukhadia University,
Udaipur. 13th May, 1986.

"I understand that the Indian Book Chronicle ceased publication with effect from January 1986. To clear all this misunderstanding, will you please write to us the present status of the publication and if it is still being published, let us have all the issues published after November, 1985.

N. V. Jagg Rao, Library Assistant,
American Studies Research Center,
Hydrabad May 15, 1981.

"I am really thrilled to receive the last issue of 1985. I read with a heavy heart all your editorials commencing from 1985 New Years issue. It is heartening to note that a friend of yours reacted to editorials more sharply and did not allow you to do what you had firmly decided to do. All the book-lovers, and more importantly all those who were chronically addicted to your chronicle would be immensely happy at the development."

Jandhyala B. G. Tilak, Ins. of Edu. Plan.
and Adm. (New Delhi) May 19, 1986.

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A View From The World Bank

WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT 1985

Published for the World Bank by Oxford University Press, New Delhi,
pp. xii+243. Price Rs. 35/-

Reviewed by Rakesh Hooja

Since 1978, the World Bank has been assigning a team of its staff members and others to the production of an annual *World Development Report*. Each report normally contains a section on world development indicators, a review of recent trends in the international economy and their implications for the developing countries (much more comprehensive than the chapter reviewing the economic scene in the World Bank *Annual Reports*) and, till recently, a section on a special topic selected each year, reviewing cross-country experiences to identify policies that promote development in selected sectors.

SOME EARLIER REPORTS

Earlier years have seen the relationship between growth and poverty alleviation being examined and basic human needs being emphasised (1980) with a discussion on the Role of Agriculture in Development (1982). The 1983 Report reviewed the World Economic Recession and Prospects for Recovery as that was of pressing international (critics of the World Bank would perhaps use the word "western" instead) concern. It also took up the issue of Management in Development due to its concern for the need for "greater efficiency in the pursuit of government's social and economic objectives", and also to the realization that too often development was being "discussed only in terms of policies, without regard to the institutions and people who decide and execute them". (Whether this last realization is true more for economists than for others needs to be discussed further, as it often appears to this reviewer that citizens, both rural and urban, people's representatives, administrators and the

political bosses, all of them, seem to view *development* more in terms of personalities and institutions than in terms of policies, programme or even delivery of benefits).

The 1986 Report, not yet seen by this reviewer, (as reported in *The Economist* dated 12 July 1986) focuses attention on farm policies, food production or its trade, and their impact on the farmers.

MATTERS OF CONCERN

However, the 1985 Report under review, the eighth in the series, has picked up from its predecessor with its theme of Recovery or Relapse in the World Economy, and is focussed on International Capital and Economic Development taking a much longer-term view than many annual *World Development Reports* have so far been doing to examine, how from 1970 onwards, international capital flows have promoted global efficiency and helped individual countries to cushion shocks (internal such as crop failure, or external such as global recession, or the oil price-hike) and on the other hand, how these have enabled individual countries to become over-complacent and eventually run into debt-servicing problems and loss of credit-worthiness externally, and economic crisis internally. Also examined is the international financial system as it has evolved, the management of capital flows and changing perceptions in both the developing and industrial economies, before a renewed analysis is undertaken of the two scenarios first presented in the seventh *World Development Report* (1984) of what can happen to foreign capital flows in the years up to 1995 in case the industrial countries either fail or succeed in overcoming problems of budgetary deficits, inflation, unemployment and low gro-

wth rates; and how the consequent changes in foreign capital flows would affect the economies of the developing countries. That two consecutive annual reports have built on the same or similar analysis is a sign of the World Bank's worry about the number of countries which have recently had major repayment problems, thus shaking the entire IBRD/IMF system. Though the 1984 Report had basically sought to put into historical and analytical perspective the recent depression in industrial countries which, unlike its predecessor, was transmitted to developing countries.

Before commenting further on the report under review, it would be worth - while to examine the entire practice of World Bank bringing out these annual reports which, it always emphasises, do not necessarily reflect the views of the Bank's Board of Directors or the Governments they represent, but of the staff involved in preparing the documents.

It is good that, in addition to their project-lending related documents and reports and individually authored staff papers of the Bank, a team of persons is putting together a review of recent happenings and projecting the need for changes in monetary, fiscal and economic policies on some currently relevant themes. However, as is to be expected in such an effort, mentally stimulating hypotheses and detailed empirical analysis are likely to suffer in such a "group endeavour" aimed at a reading public the world over. True, new ideas do find place, but there is always the danger of it becoming a generalized review—some-what like a good reference book, a notch or two above a text-book. And of course, what is considered the conventional wisdom (itself a term popular in World Bank publications) of the school of economics prevailing amongst the team members drafting the report is likely to abound.

What we used to be taught in school or at college about Indian culture and civilization's strength being its integrative and synthesising role as well as its tolerance in nature

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is not normally true about academic traditions (whatever its reality *vis-a-vis* Indian culture and civilization). Thus, if one expects the reports to detail various differing and antagonistic methodological and ideological approaches to the problem being reviewed with a listing of merits and demerits of each before a compromise or synthesized and value-neutral conclusion is set forth (since they are dubbed as *World Development Reports* and issued by an international organization having links with most countries and prepared by an international team of social scientists, whose claim to being scientists depends upon their analysis being systematic and value-neutral or value-free) then one is bound to be disappointed.

WORLD BANK OR U. S. AND ITS ALLIES (?)

Though this reviewer will not go as far as Claude Alvares has in his "*Money-lenders Ruse*" which is a review of the 1985 Report in the *Express Magazine* (*Indian Express Sunday Edition* of July 20, 1986), where he exhorts readers to read "institution of the U. S. and its allies instead of "World Bank", or "report of the capitalist economies and their relations with the third world" instead of "world report", or "western financial capital" instead of "international capital" and emphasises that the World Bank being a money-lender or commission agent created by western capital has little credibility and "will continue to push development in the way it has been set up to do, which is hardly the best suited to third world citizens" (which he claims is proved by two special numbers volume 15 No. 1/2 and 5/2 of the English journal *The Ecologist*, and that the "report needs to be read between the lines".

Alvares has also criticized the first part of the report for concentrating on philosophy and "the usual dogma associated with the Adam Smith papacy", as if "alternative development" does not have its own dogmas. He also states that whenever the reports chastise the capitalist economies for their protection-

ist policies, it is only a pretence. While it is possible that Alvares may be partially correct such outright rejection of a book on the basis of labelling it in a particular fashion (name a man a dog and then hang him) does not appeal to this reviewer.

Every theory, every philosophy, every system has to have both good and bad aspects related to it; and surely the Bank staff also contains countless sincere persons despite Alvares' jibe about their being paid servants who retire with extravagant pensions, and the others even if less idealistic are likely to be busy furthering personal careers rather than pursuing some sinister grand designs being attributed to the Bank. Someone could equally easily pronounce this reviewer's or Alvares' comments as being based on the Indian experience or an English-medium educated Indian world-view, and accordingly biased and not worth reading. Surely every view-point should be well propounded with full marshalling of all resources, and it is up to the reader to pick and choose that which he thinks worthwhile after fully understanding what is being propounded; the poor people may require the protection of paternalistic governments, but surely good ideas do not need protectors who debunk all other ideas as unholy.

CAN WE AVOID ECONOMIC JARGON ?

From the angle of putting forth its views clearly, the Report is well written—for an economist. As some one who has studied the subject only up to the graduate level, this reviewer is always disappointed to find economists, like many other social scientists wanting to possess the field of development as totally their own. Why should a liberal arts student or a physical scientist, or the generally aware reader, need a dictionary of economic terms or an interpreter to understand a *World Development Report*? After all, development is multi-faceted. These reports do refer to social indicators and political pulls, but in economists' terms and from an economist's view-

point, as if they were really only meant to be merely world *economic* reports. If they were meant to be highly learned tomes, one could understand; but here it is basic trends, processes, structures and lessons to be learnt from the past that are being analytically described. Though, of course, heavy jargon has been avoided and countless simple charts, maps and boxes included; but it is still economic language, however simplified. Perhaps a non-economist trained journalist should be asked to re-write each report before publication. Surely there should be a difference between the style of background papers as collected for a report like those in Deepak Lal and Martin Wolf (ed.) *Stagflation, Savings and the State-Perspectives on the Global Economy*, Oxford University Press 1986 (background papers to the 1984 *World Development Report* meant for economists and researchers, and that of the report itself, which should be aimed at the general reader.

A CASE FOR MULTI-DISCIPLINARY SPECIAL STUDIES

It is sad that the special topic study like that on Managing Development in the 1983 Report has been dispensed with in the report under review. (Incidentally that section in the 1983 Report had been multi-disciplinary in language and approach, at least as far as a social scientist or generalist administrator may be concerned, and is thus relatively less open to my charge about jargon made in the preceding paragraphs. In fact, I had then thought that it marked the beginning of a new style in drafting these reports. However, it had probably happened only because some experts from other fields had also formed part of the team that produced that section.

May I use this opportunity to make a plea that, along with the global macro-economic analysis found in every report, one special study of "project" or "micro-level" related issues should invariably form a part of such reports, preferably with official 'country situations' and alternative strategies being advoca-

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ted privately, both being examined and commented upon.

INDICATORS—USEFUL DATA

The *World Development Indicators* section of such reports is one part which even persons like Alvares find useful. By now, a general format has been evolved so that the social and economic indicators from report to report can be compared. The 1985 report, compared to 1983 merely finds *adult literacy* deleted from the "basic indicators" and "education tables", *debt service* as percentage of exports of goods and services added, "*year of reaching stationary population*" replaced by "population momentum" in the "Population Growth and Projections" table; the "*defence and social expenditure*" table replaced by a more detailed one on "central government expenditure", and a table on "central government current revenue" added.

A MIXED TALE OF RECOVERY

To return to the first part of the Report under review, it asserts like the 1984 Report, that 1983–84 saw the recovery of industrial economies, greater flexibility on the part of commercial banks, and policy adjustments by developing countries which have helped reduce, though not eliminate, debt servicing problems; though the growth momentum of the 1960's has still not been regained and, in fact, has slowed down in most developing countries. The general consensus that the more advanced among the developing countries could and should borrow abroad has been broken. (One doubts whether those placed in the above-mentioned category ever formed part of in the consensus). Thus the structure of financial flows is again facing change: from the dominance of private bond markets before World War I to the virtual stoppage of commercial lending in the 1930's following the Great Depression and widespread defaults, to the post-World War II expansion of official bi-lateral and multilateral flows on concessional terms with some private direct investments and supplier credits, to the increasing role of

commercial banks in the late 60's to the recent re-payments crisis. (The role of Multi National Corporations (MNC's) in capital flows could perhaps have received more attention in the Report).

DEBTS AND OTHER PROBLEMS

The Report emphasises that defaults are not new. But the magnitude and nature of the problem both changed in the 80's due to loans having far out-stripped equity finance; the proportion of debt at floating interest rates having risen dramatically, maturities having shortened considerably due to the declining share of official flows and debt; the recession in industrial countries which reduced export volumes in the developing countries and weakened commodity prices when real interest rates were rising; protectionist barriers in the industrial world; more expensive oil prices; and lack of adjustment to the changed circumstances on the part of the developing countries, most of whom had greater investments than domestic savings and had even, at times, used foreign finance for consumption or in large public projects, which did not contribute to either economic growth or to increased exports.

It reluctantly accepts the validity of some procedures for governmental regulation of capital movements such as prior approval for borrowing, minimum maturity or deposit requirements, or withholding of taxes as some-times being a helpful complement to fiscal, monetary and trade policies for effective management of capital flows that can form an integral part of macro-economic management. Also recommended are financial innovations to ensure longer maturity and a greater range of maturities available; greater use of instruments for hedging risks; introduction of equity-based instruments in lending to developing countries; the expansion of secondary markets for some kinds of liabilities of developing countries to increase the range of lender and so increase the stability of lending, and an increase in the volume and effectiveness of aid.

THE FUTURE SCENARIO

Since, in the next five years, about two-thirds of the debts of the developing countries will have to be rolled over or amortized, the first five years of the scenarios up to 1995 developed in the 1984 Report have received greater attention this time. Both scenarios differ in that the *Low* one assumes that the industrial economies shall fail to address their current problems and thus further problems would crop up; while the *High* one is based on better adjustment and management of their problems by the industrial economies. The *Higher* scenario is projected as more beneficial for developing countries, though even if the *High* scenario is achieved, the outlook for many low-income African countries is expected to remain bleak. It is being suggested that, even if developing countries achieve policy improvements in the areas of key economic prices, exchange rates and trade policies and domestic savings, they would still be dependent upon whether the industrialized countries, collectively achieve a *High* or a *Low* scenario; and some countries are doomed regardless of the scenarios (an assertion not very helpful for the national prides of Third World countries).

REFORMS Vs WAIT AND SEE

If convinced that this is true, the developing countries are not going to feel very motivated to go in for policy reforms; but may rather like to wait and see what the industrialized countries do. In this context, it would have been interesting to have found out what this year's report-writing team thinks of the desirability and/or practicability of what has been called the New International Economic Order by the countries of the South who have advocated it, because the present report seems to say that *South-South* cooperation is meaningless, while *North-South* cooperation can help the South only if the North can solve its international economic problems. It is a thesis which would make the Third World countries feel helpless and fatalistic, a dangerous

situation, and surely not one that would help the countries of the developed world either.

Considering that the 1984 Report had seen a shift for the first time from a focus on how the international economic policies of industrial countries impinge on the domestic policies that determine growth in the developing countries to an analysis which found that, with the increasing integration of the world economy through trade and capital flows, the effects of the domestic policies were increasingly relevant to the economic prospects of the developing countries (Anne O. Krueger in Lal and Wolf's above quoted compilation) the 1985 Report is very confident about the domestic policies of industrial countries being the major determinants of growth in the rest of the world. Could a Marxian scholar have made as assertive a statement on this account, one wonders?

The Report also seems to indicate a great sense of the World Bank's role in contributing to the resumption of growth in developing countries through coordinating aid, commercial finance and private investment flows, and making available policy advice; but being a Bank report, this can be excused because it is human nature that each being or institution has an exaggerated sense of its own self-importance, which is bound to be different to a larger or lesser extent than the social reality.

Before ending, a word about the price. An Indian book of this size and with these maps and charts would have been priced anything up to Rs 200, while the *Oxford University Press* have made it available for Rs. 35.00 only. It is a pity that despite its price, the report is not well known or easily available in our *mofussil* towns and even state capitals. And that even our dailies and journals like *Indian Express*, let alone the *IBC*, manage to review such a volume only after *The Economist* of London has reported on the subsequent year's report, also speaks volumes about the books and book-reviewing situation in India.

Rakesh Hooja, IBC editorial associate, has contributed reviews for this and other magazines for many years. He is currently Director Agriculture Marketing and Ex-Officio Special Secretary to the Government of Rajasthan and Administrator of the State Marketing Board.

The World Bank celebrated its 40th anniversary on 25th June. Since its inception and the meeting of the first Governing Council at Savannah, Georgia in the U.S.A., it has grown into perhaps the largest and most pervading institution of international finance for 'development' activities, especially in the least developed (LDC's) or developing countries of the Third World. But more recently, the WB has also become a centre of controversies. An unexpected or unseen range of repayment problems has surfaced on the national, inter-continental or

international scene. The burden of bi-lateral or international debts has come to plague the LDC's and the developing countries. Even the donor governments or institutions seem to be in a quandary trying to find their way out of the labyrinth which appears to run into many a *cul de sac*. The WB and its affiliates or supporting agencies are also confronted with the resources crunch; and some alternative mechanisms or devices are being now encouraged, including private borrowings on a large scale.

Against this back-drop of a deepening crisis, the foregoing review of the recent World Development Reports seems quite timely and appropriate. In view of the importance of this topic, further contributions or comments are also invited from our readers.

—Editors

A World Without Arms

Eduard Nukhovich

DISARMAMENT AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Sterling Publishers (P.) Ltd., New Delhi (1984)

Corinne Browne and Robert Muriroe

TIME BOMB : A NUCLEAR HISTORY

Facet Books International, New York (1981)

Reviewed by T. T. Poulouse

Disarmament would promote in a big way the social and economic progress of the developing countries which have been drawn into the arms race against their wishes. It would channel their own material, financial and other resources from military to peaceful constructive uses as well as increase economic, scientific and technical assistance from advanced countries. The book discusses this and other cardinal problems of the struggle for a world without arms—a struggle most essential to the solution of unemploy-

ment, poverty and inequality facing the countries of Third World.

The author has rightly pointed out that arms race consumes enormous material, financial and manpower resources; creates a direct threat to the life and health of the people and sharply decelerates the pace of peaceful development in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Military expenditures are a serious obstacle in the way of economic and social development and a heavy burden to the economies of young states, causing enormous

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non-productive expenses and intensifying economic disparities.

The author is of the view that the arms race gives rise to a whole range of inter-related problems in developing countries. Military production consumes considerable material and financial resources, involving regular import of foreign technology and know-how etc. In its turn, foreign military technology needs a material base for use, and has to be regularly renewed and supervised by western specialists whose salaries are steadily growing. The diversion of a considerable part of skilled labour force to the military sector with the drafting of educated youth, especially into the officer personnel, has created serious difficulties for developing countries which badly need specialists in all sectors of the national economy.

The author has a point when he maintains that the involvement of developing countries in the arms race entails a new form of dependence on the western world and their military industrial monopolies. The newly freed states are made dependent on the West in a new respect—in the field of military technology. Military monopolies find it lucrative not only to export arms to developing countries, but also to build their branches there, making profits out of cheap local labour.

Therefore, the author pleads that general and complete disarmament is the only way out of the impasse. Disarmament, independence, development and peace are inseparable. USSR's approach to problems of disarmament is to give top priority to (i) improving the international climate; (ii) putting an end to the production of all types of nuclear weapons; (iii) ceasing the production of new types of conventional arms of great destructive force; (iv) and refusal to increase armies and conventional armaments of the member states of the UN Security Council as well as countries bound by military agreements with them. A halt to arms race will resolve the issues of unemployment, poverty and inequality facing the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

These are the themes running through the book.

NUCLEAR HISTORY

The book under review is a very fascinating historical account of the nuclear power from the war-time Manhattan project which produced the world's first atomic bomb. It deals with, in great detail, the origin of the civilian atomic power programme in the 1950's under the direction of Admiral Hyman Rickover. The main focus has been on the issue of nuclear safety. Authors Corinne Browne and Robert Murroe have maintained that nuclear power is an inherently unsafe technology and a danger and threat to mankind.

Perceptive account of nuclear development by the authors is noteworthy. The US believed that the Germans were creating an atomic weapon, and this prompted them to make the bomb first. Scientists had begun the work on the bomb, because they were dedicated to end the menace of Fascism. Although Germany had surrendered, some scientists believed that by bombing Japan, they were speeding the end

of war, preventing an imminent land invasion of Japan and saving many American lives.

The authors maintain that de-commissioning is a problem to be faced by all nuclear plant-owners. It is a difficult and long-term operation, because a reactor and its spent fuel must be watched over for thousands of years. Risk of radioactivity released into the atmosphere and water is always there, as it happened during the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Prof. T. T. Poulse is the Chairman of the Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Editors' Note: Both the books were borrowed from the library of the Indian Social Institute (SBRAS) through courtesy of Dr. Joseph Benjamin. The absence of some publication data is regretted.

New Frontiers Of South Asia

P. C. Mathur (Ed.)

GOVERNMENT & POLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA : THE EXTERNAL SCENE, Vol. II.

Printwell. Jaipur, (1986), pp. 292, Price Rs. 195/-

Reviewed by Pramod K Mishra

The linkage politics as introduced by James Rosenau and his compatriots have opened up new frontiers of research on the external behaviour of nation-states in different parts of the world. Besides, in the post-war period, the concept of region as an independent variable in social science research has found greater and greater recognition among scholars. One comes across a plethora of studies by western scholars

on the internal as well as external behaviour of internal sub-systems like in the regions of Latin America, West Europe, East Europe, Africa and the Arab World.

But so far as South Asia is concerned, such studies are rather negligible. In fact most of the western scholars have refused to recognise South Asia as a distinct unit for research. On the other hand, some of them like, for instance, Michael

Brecher, have clubbed together both 'South Asia and South East Asia and termed it as 'a subordinate system of Southern Asia'. Without going into the controversy of whether or not to recognise the South Asian sub-continent as a distinct unit for research analysis, one can bear the following general observations in mind :—

First, the South Asian region fondly cherishes the memory of its most ancient civilizations with its repercussions far and wide.

Second, after the industrial revolution in the west, when several Euro-powers colonized different parts of the world, this region which was otherwise quite prosperous at that time, became a natural victim, mainly due to internal dissension among the reigning princes.

As a result of large-scale colonization, the sub-continent gradually lost its separate identity and role in international affairs. But after World War II, when the various countries of the region got their independence, there was a natural urge among their rulers to play at least a modest role in world affairs. India, being a core country in the region, naturally played a leading role in the resurgence of the Asian continent in general and that of South Asia in particular.

Finally, as has been emphasized by the present reviewer in an earlier review in the IBC, (Vol. X No. 14 July 16, 1985 p. 245) the South Asia Studies Centre in Jaipur can be regarded as a pioneer in systematic research on the South Asian scene, both internal as well as external. One may particularly mention its two doyens, S. P. Verma and Iqbal Narain who have not only broken the barriers of traditional research in social sciences, but have also trained a galaxy of future generation scholars to pursue further, more vigorously and rigorously, the new vistas of knowledge in the study of the sub-continent.

The present book under review is quite obviously a welcome addition to the scanty areas of research on South Asia's external behaviour. As it has been collectively under-

taken by a dedicated group of people, its research value can never be lost in spite of the fact that it is a bit 'dated'. For any researcher in the field, it serves not only as a useful background reading, but also provides him adequate insight into the new horizons for innovative research in the field.

After critically going through the eighteen articles, suitably edited with scanning remarks here and there by the perceptive editor, the following scenario is drawn in one's mind.

P. C. Mathur in his thought-provoking piece captioned 'After-word' has introduced a plethora of ideas on the new frontiers for future researchers in the South Asian studies. In his conceptual framework, which has been put in the form of a revised model of David Easton's Input-Output analysis, one must brood over the implications of terminologies like *M-rays*, *Technimitation*, *Technisulation*, *Tradifugalism*, *Tradipetalism*, the *Feedback-waves* etc. One can explore a great deal on each one of these concepts.

Out of the four major parts in the book, the first one, quite befittingly, provides a linkage between the domestic millieus and the foreign policy behaviour of South Asian states. Here again, Mathur's analysis on the role of 'push' factors like religion, language and socio-economic factors provides a perceptive *view point*. Rama Kant provides a thorough-going analysis within a theoretical frame-work on the "Geopolitical Compulsions" in Indo-Nepal relations. Kodikara and Saxena introduce the role of personality and charisma in the decision-making process in South Asia. Muni and Jena have diagnosed the inter-action between the legislature, political parties and foreign policy-making in Nepal and Sri Lanka respectively.

The second part, which is further subdivided into three sections, focuses its attention on the emerging syndrom of alignment and non-alignment in South Asia. The first part provides case studies of the role of super-powers in the external behaviour of Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and

Pakistan. The next section has been placed on a sound theoretical footing by scholars like S. P. Verma and Vijay Chawla. Both writings are through-going works on the triangular relationships. They discuss the role of two external actors like China and Soviet Union at different stages in Indo-Pak relations. The major thrust of Verma's argument seems to be on the clear symptoms of China aspiring to play a crucial role in the intra-regional affairs in South Asia. Chawla seems to suggest that Soviet Union, because of its geo-political compulsions has often shifted its diplomatic and physical support to the regional powers in South Asia. The next section contains three analytical articles on the ups and downs of China in forging links with Sri Lanka and Nepal.

The last part in two sections is devoted to the security scenario in South Asia. The late V. V. Ramana Murthi puts forward a case for a Nuclear Free Zone in South Asia, which unfortunately remains a day-dream under the present conditions. Kaushik discusses all the available options for India's nuclear capability. Muni goes deep into the fall-out of India's obsession to forge security link with Nepal. Lucy Jacob in her analytical piece on 'Ceylon's' security links with UK, emphasizes that the island state, because of its identity crisis vis-a-vis India, was often interested in introducing external powers into our region.

Dr. Pramod K. Mishra has recently joined as Professor of International Relations at the Netaji Institute for Asian Studies, Calcutta. His review of the first volume the book Government and Political in South Asia (edited by P. C. Mathur) has appeared in the IBC Vol. X. No. 14 July 1985 p. 245.

All patrons are requested to add prescribed bank charges to payments by cheques.

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A Global Burning Issue

Bina Agarwal

COLD HEARTHS AND BARREN SLOPES : THE WOOD CRISIS IN THE THIRD WORLD

Allied Publishers Private Limited (1986) pp. 209 Rs. 95/-

Reviewed by Alexa Fraser

This well written and important book outlines the problems of wood fuel supply in the Third World, and documents successes and failures of two types of programmes designed to address this problem: improved stoves and reforestation schemes. Using examples from around the world, Agarwal carefully distills a few guidelines for future programmes and emphasizes the indispensable role of women recipients in all stages of programme design, implementation and evaluation. The author's sensitivity to the social effects of different programme designs is at all times evident and laudable.

The book is an updated and expanded version of a monograph written by the author in 1980, entitled *"The Wood-fuel Problem and the Diffusion of Rural Innovations"*. A comparison of these two volumes gives an interesting insight into how the wood-fuel problem has increased over just the last 5 years. It is notable that *Cold Hearths and Barren Slopes* contains many more examples of positive action by local people for self-determination in the area of fuel-wood supplies than does the earlier volume.

I believe that it was possible to include additional examples in the recent work because creative local responses to these ecological problems are on the increase, and are being reported more often than in the past. This is all for the good.

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE CRISIS

In the first chapter entitled "The Nature of the Wood-fuel Problem", Agarwal describes the global shortfall of wood. The text is accompa-

nied by extremely appropriate though disturbing photos. Examples are: expanding deserts in Africa; a pair

of photos of the same place 5 years apart, showing forest and desert respectively in Latin America; and African women carrying head-loads of wood. The figures are grim enough and tell an eloquent tale. One table is reproduced below:—

As can be seen, in all regions of the Third World, only high forest areas in Asia and Africa and abundant forest areas in Latin America have an adequate supply of fuel-wood. All other areas are suffering a current deficit or will in the near

TABLE
Fuel-wood* use by ecological regions (1980)
(in m³ per capita per year)

	Fuelwood*	
	Needs	Availability
<u>Africa (South of Sahara)</u>		
Arid and sub-arid areas	0.5	0.05 to 0.01 (AS)
Mountainous areas	1.4 to 1.9	0.5 to 0.7 (AS)
Savanna areas (a)	1.0 to 1.5	0.8 to 0.9 (D)
(b)		1.8 to 2.1 (PD)
High forest areas (a)	1.2 to 1.7	1.8 to 2.0 (PD)
(b)		5.0 to 10.0 (S)
<u>Asia (Far East)</u>		
Mountainous areas	1.3 to 1.8	0.2 to 0.3 (AS)
Indo-gangetic plains (S. Asia)	0.2 to 0.7	0.15 to 0.25 (D)
Low land areas in S.E. Asia (Plains and islands)	0.3 to 0.9	0.2 to 0.3 (D)
High forest areas	0.9 to 1.3	1.0 to 6.0 (S)
<u>Latin America</u>		
Andean plateau	0.95 to 1.6	0.2 to 0.4 (AS)
Arid areas	0.6 to 0.9	0.1 to 0.3 (AS)
Semi-arid areas	0.7 to 1.2	0.6 to 1.0 (D)
Sub-tropical and temperate areas	0.5 to 1.2	1.9 to 2.3 (PD)
Abundant forest areas	0.5 to 1.2	2.5 to 10.0 (S)

Note: *Wood for charcoal is included here. Hence, strictly in terms of the definition used in this book, these figures would relate to 'woodfuel', not just to 'fuelwood'.

AS : Acute Scarcity; D. Deficit; PD : Prospective Deficit; S : Satisfactory.

Source : FAO (1981) : *Map of the Fuelwood Situation in Developing Countries—Explanatory Note*. FAO, Rome.

future. The vast majority of the world's population is facing a real and growing problem of major proportions.

Agarwal also describes the human sufferings associated with this shortage in an excellent chart on 'the time taken' and 'distance travelled for fuel-wood' by regions. The range shown is 3 hours a day in Java to 5 hours per day in the Garhwal hills in India. Because in most Third World societies, women collect fuel, the increasing 'time cost' is clearly a burden falling on the women's shoulders.

CAUSES OF DEFORESTATION

Deforestation is also an environmental problem with many effects other than fuel-wood shortages, such as increased flooding, lower water tables, and decreased precipitation. In comparison with the 1980 version of this book, the current figures without exception, indicate a bleaker reality than before. This fact is emerging more and more clearly in other sources on the topic.

Agarwal correctly points out, however, that the predominant causes of this crisis do not include fuel-wood burning for heating and cooking. Fuel-wood in most places consists of twigs and branches, and virtually never requires clear felling. By contrast, in India 60.6 per cent of deforestation in the 1951-75 period, occurred as a result of agriculture; 11.6 per cent from river valley projects; 1.6 per cent for roads and industries and 23.2 per cent from 'miscellaneous' factors which must include the needs of grazing, paper industry, furniture making and other timber production and, of course, fuel-wood.

The exclusion of 'fuel wood use' from among the major causes of deforestation is an extremely important fact for policy-makers and planners to understand. But this neither diminishes the difficulties which deforestation causes for those who use fuel wood, nor the need to reforest.

INNOVATIONS INVOLVING THE PEOPLE

Agarwal's discussion of the diffusion of "innovation literature"

is excellent. First she discusses different schools of thought, outlining briefly what she calls the "straight transfer approach" proposed by Rogers, and contrasts this with the assumption of "acceptor rationality" for which Griliches, Rosnberg and others argue. Agarwal herself clearly favours a third school, which calls for "user involvement in the innovation process". This is a theme to which she returns again and again. Her discussion of this literature is certainly useful, but it is her argument for "user involvement" which is her most original contribution.

Agarwal is the first author I have read who breaks different types of

innovations into 'cost-benefit' categories. Previously no logical distinction between irrigation and improved stoves, for example, had been made, though it is quite obvious that irrigation is widely accepted, and improved stoves are, to date, much less so. In the past, many authors have explained varying levels of acceptance by saying that irrigation was more attractive to recipients than improved stoves,

Agarwal divides innovations into categories based on who pays the cost and what type of benefit is received. The table below outlines one possible way of organizing Agarwal's categories. I have found this helpful in understanding her work.

Cost and Benefits of Innovations

Costs	Benefits		
	Individual's financial benefit	Individuals non-financial benefit	Individual's financial savings benefit
Individuals' financial cost	High yielding grains, agricultural equipment	Watches, radios improved stoves/ unsubsidized	Biogas/unsubsidized
Individual non-financial cost		Sending children to school/ latrines self-built	
Social or community cost	Irrigation, roads	Piped water	Contraception

Agarwal unfortunately makes no such table herself, possibly because she feels "the list (of categories) could be extended quite easily to cover other and more complex combinations of the economic and social characteristics" (p. 70). While it is true that a single innovation could occupy several different cells in my table, depending on interpretation or differing dissemination strategies, I believe this table still clarifies Agarwal's ideas. It is a useful stepping stone for understanding, some form of which should have been included in this book. But more important, a distinction between irrigation (community cost/individual financial

benefit) and improved stoves (individual non-financial benefit) is now quite easy to draw. Generally, people may prefer to accept a financially remunerative innovation rather one with a non-financial benefit. At any rate, this is what we see in the example of irrigation versus improved stoves given above

It is true that these categories of costs and benefits are quite common in economics; but Agarwal, to my knowledge is the first to apply them to the dissemination of innovation; and the importance of this typology goes beyond the study of fuelwood innovations.

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POPULARISING IMPROVED STOVES

Agarwal's description of factors which affect the diffusion of wood stoves is extremely comprehensive. Ranging from stove a simple and clear explanation of efficiency through case studies of several successful and non-successful wood stove dissemination programmes, this section covers the important issues relating to stove dissemination. At all times, analytical emphasis is on the factors which make a stove dissemination project succeed. As these factors are, according to Agarwal, the same for stove and reforestation programmes, they will be covered together after a discussion of the book's reforestation section.

FORESTS Vs. LOCAL PEOPLE A MYTH

Reforestation schemes, according to Agarwal, fall into two major categories ;

- (1) *farm forestry*, the production of trees on private lands; and
- (2) *social forestry*, the use of public and communal lands for tree production.

First, Agarwal addresses herself to what she considers to be the myth that forests are usually looked on with hostility by local people. She points out that forest products are essential to the lives of many tribals and, therefore, are appreciated by them. She unfortunately does not address the possibility that traditional systems can be so out of balance with their environments (e. g. through human or animal population growth) that in some places, destruction of forests by local people is inevitable, whether forests are appreciated by them or not.

She then describes the alienation which many people have suffered from their traditional lands at the hands of governments. Foresters have often been the implementers of destructive government policies.

Now, under government social forestry programmes, it is difficult for these same officials to pursue *forestry for the people*.

SOCIAL FORESTRY & FARM FORESTRY

Community management of social forestry has fared little better. Agarwal attributes this to the "unequal pattern of land ownership and control and the village power structures operating in the village which circumvent voluntary participation by the underprivileged" (p. 117). These same power relationships diminish the likelihood of poor villagers reaping any of the benefits of a community forestry scheme.

Farm forestry has, by contrast, been more successful. The question is, who is benefitting from this form of what is often incorrectly called *social forestry*? Agarwal shows again and again that wealthier farmers tend to plant trees, from which they will reap higher profits than they could from agricultural produce. The losers, however, are farm labourers, those who rely on crop residues for fuel, and often the society at large, because less food will be produced.

ROLE OF WOMEN

For Agarwal, successful stove and forestation programmes have definite characteristics. They must focus on *women* as "primary beneficiaries" by including them in every phase of design and dissemination. They must be "grass roots" in nature, involving "potential beneficiaries as closely as possible in the designing and building of the stoves" (p. 168) or with regards to forestry schemes "in some cases, failure can be traced specifically to the absence of attempts to involve the local women particularly in regions where women traditionally undertake tree maintenance tasks" (p. 172).

LAND REFORMS HELP

For forestry programmes, Agarwal finds that equality of land distribution

and insurance of the receipt programme benefits by poor people are essential for success. Both successful programmes used as forestry case studies were from countries which have experienced radical land reforms (China and South Korea).

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND ADAPTED TECHNOLOGIES

Despite the overall excellence of this book, there are two sections which display some minor problems. The first of these is a brief sub-chapter on *indigenous* technical knowledge. In this regard, Agarwal gives the following examples :

1. *Japan* : improved agricultural practices
2. *Nigeria* : improved agricultural practices
3. *India and Bangladesh* : farmers making genetic improvements in seeds
4. *Bihar* : bamboo tube-wells
5. *Vietnam* : small centrifugal water pumps
6. *Karnataka* : hand-pump servicing
7. *Guatemala* : "improvements" on improved stoves.

In my opinion, only the first two of these cases are clear examples of *indigenous* technical knowledge.

Example 3 may be indigenous knowledge or it may be, as examples 4 through 6 are, successful and creative mastery of modern technologies by local people. There is a large difference between indigenous knowledge and indigenous people bringing modern technology to their fellows, though both processes are important. Example 7 is a mixed case. Here most of the "improvements" offered by villagers made the stove more suited to local cooking practice at the expense of fuel savings.

ON EVALUATION

A second weakness occurs in the chapter entitled "On Evaluating Wood-fuel Diffusion Programmes".

This 22-page chapter, in my opinion, is directed at a more professionally concerned audience than the rest of the book. Either this chapter should have been tailored to the needs and interests of the general reader, or like the section on charcoal kilns, it should have been included as an appendix. Also in this chapter, Agarwal's enthusiasm for local involvement in all stages of project implementation has perhaps gone too far, when she strongly recommends that "monitoring of schemes needing group action or consensus should be done by the beneficiaries" (145-6).

Agarwal's laudable desires for a world in which land and its products are evenly distributed and where people are honest and open have not been shaken by the world with its difficulties. She herself quotes a Punjabi villager saying to Mamdani "Babuji, some day you will understand. It is some times better to lie. It stops you from hurting people, does you no harm and might even help them" (Mamdani 1972 : 19).

One might add that few people would be willing to risk the cancellation of a project in their village by voicing open criticism.

Of course, every effort must be made to learn as much as possible about programme performance from the point of view of recipients through open and repeated discussions with villagers. Other evaluation perspectives must also be taken, however; and villagers can only be of marginal help in areas such as cross-project comparisons, management efficiency studies and many technical areas of programme implementation.

On the whole, this is an excellent and important book. The author covers all the territory which she promises to, and she does this well. Let us only hope that wood fuel project designers, administrators and workers will take the time to learn the lessons Agarwal presents.

Alexa Fraser is a Research Scholar from Wisconsin University (USA) currently collecting field material on the use of alternative sources of fuel in the State of Rajasthan. (Note : It is a pity though that the publishers of this useful book have not favoured us with a copy for review.

—Editors

orthodox Marxist view that agricultural labourers were the creation of the colonial rule. Yet, in spite of such a foundation, comprehensive study in this area is still lacking. The present book, though specialised in one section of agricultural labour, is probably the best effort in this direction.

The book is in three parts dealing with history, contemporary aspects and the relevant laws, in addition to an introduction by Utsa Patnaik. The part dealing with history contains three articles to discuss servile labour during ancient, medieval and colonial periods respectively. Each of these articles deserves the highest praise. But these are not the only ones dealing with history. Four out of the five articles in the section dealing with contemporary aspects also deal commendably with regional histories of agrestic slavery; Utsa Patnaik, in her introduction, deals with the post-independence developments and Manjari Dingwaney's piece on the law and its limits is one of the most comprehensive historical accounts in this area.

Quoting from the introduction, the blurb advertises the richness of the book in historical material. The diversity of forms of bondage dealt in this book has not received such a prominence. In my view, however, it is richer in this dimension. Firstly, the editors have shown great imagination by incorporating such topics as domestic slavery, bondages of craftsmen, brick-kiln workers and women which do not fit into the rigid definition of agrestic slavery. Secondly, all the contributors dealing with contemporary period, have very successfully brought out the regional and sectional peculiarities. Finally, the contributors of the historical section, though they have repeatedly acknowledged the danger of over-generalisation, have been successful, nevertheless, to cast some light on different varieties of bondage.

Regarding the weakness of the book, somewhat more detailed account of conventional form of 'bonded labour' would have been desirable. The introduction by Utsa Patnaik suffers from thematic

Bondage : Its History and Diversity

Utsa Patnaik and Manjari Dingwaney—Editors

CHAINS OF SERVITUDE : BONDAGE AND SLAVERY IN INDIA

Sangam Books, Madras (1985)

Distributors : Orient Longman, Hyderabad pp. 317, Rs. 70/-

Reviewed by Nirmal Sengupta

The study of agricultural labourers in India developed at a time when the Marxists were busily debating the nature of the newly earned 'independence'. The growth of agricultural labour during the colonial rule was a convincing evidence in favour of the view that the society had been undergoing a transition to capitalism. The political interest

had led into a pre-occupation with the rate of growth, treating the class almost as a homogeneous entity of agricultural proletariat. Daniel Thorner saved the situation by discovering, with his characteristic rigour, that the labour relations in India were of many different types. A few years later, in another rigorous study, Dharma Kumar contested the

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deficiency. Indeed, it is Suneet Chopra instead of Patnaik, who provides, towards the end of his article, the perspective for the discussion of bondage. Patnaik must also cease using names like 'Madras' and 'Mysore' (Table-1) for states while writing a book in 1985. Dingwaney's article loses its focus on legal history; somewhat more than the cursory

manner was needed while dealing with the Bonded Labour Act, 1976. But despite these limitations, Patnaik and Dingwaney, the editors, deserve our heartiest congratulations for the sterling contribution of theirs, the book itself.

Nirmal Sengupta is Director, Madras Institute of Development Studies, Gandhi Nagar, Madras.

How Industry Came To South Gujarat

Hein Streefkerk

INDUSTRIAL TRANSITION IN RURAL INDIA : Artisans, Traders and Tribals in South Gujarat

Popular Prakashan, Bombay (1985) pp. viii+280 Price Rs. 60.00

Some Comments & A Review

During the years 1970 to 72, Hein Streefkerk undertook a field study of the processes of social changes in South Gujarat, to be specific the town and the *taluka* of Bulsar. (Is Bulsar not the birth-place and the "town" with long association of Morarji Desai?) Since the early seventies, Streefkerk has been visiting the area at intervals, perhaps to continue with his monitoring of recent developments. However, this is a delayed English version of the original Ph-D thesis with suitable modifications, which has now appeared, thanks to the initiative of a Bombay publisher; and what is more at a very reasonable price of Rs. 60/- only.

This means that the book is well within the purchasing power of the average run of social scientists, scholars or activists as well the policy-makers and administrators. The subject should also interest them a great deal—the long and laborious, and often invisible, process of socio-economic changes in the rural sector under the impact of industrial efforts in a *taluka* town, quite far away from the usual commercial, financial or industrial hubbub of modern industrial and metropolitan towns.

As a fit and appropriate back-

ground, Streefkerk has picked up the threads of his story from almost the beginning of the 19th century, from the period of what came to be known as the phase of "de-industrialisation", with the advent or entrenchment of the British colonial system. As south Gujarat, along with rest of India, came to be tied to the growing industrial and commercial empire based in distant Lancashire and Manchester and London, and more and more manufactured goods came to be imported from England, almost dumped into the Indian markets, this process of "de-industrialisation" had started, leading to the impoverishment and degradation of skills of the local artisans and craftsmen and others, traders and tribals alike. The trek back and the burden on rural India had begun.

The author has also briefly sketched out the outline of future developments with some quick profiles, first of local castes and tribes or social groups, and later on, of selected families and individuals. As the narrative and his analysis get closer to our times, the focus becomes more and more sharp and the change processes get more clearly defined.

PHASES OF CHANGE

Conveniently, the study has been divided into various periods or phases—first the 19th century, then from 1900 to the end of the 1939–45 war, followed next by the early stages of the post-independence era or the period of 50's, until the decade of seventies which comes under detailed and more penetrating scrutiny, (the 1960–70 period, is arrived at. The broad trend or approach of the study can be generally appreciated from the various chapter-headings, viz. (i) From Handicraft to Industrial Production; or (ii) Businessmen and Industrial Production, and (iii) Workers in Modern Small-Scale Industry etc.

As the author has indicated in the introduction, in third chapter the discussion centres on businessmen and the transition from trade to industrial capital. Until the early 1960's "the industrial character of the town was set almost exclusively by the artisan castes. Since 1960, and especially after 1965, professional businessmen set the tone of small-scale industrial development... (for many) it was their first venture into the industrial field..." Just as the artisans and merchants contributed to the early industrial development in western Europe, here in the area of study, a parallel process can be delineated, of crafts slowly changing to industrial production methods or trading capital going into industry. An agrarian (or feudal) society thus goes through its transition in economic as well as sociological terms.

From 1960's onwards, there is more of initiative, entrepreneurship and a determined or planned advance towards modernisation. His field data and observations lead the author to the conclusion (again from his introduction) that what motivates certain types of people in industrial enterprise "is not social, cultural or psychological determinants (which are decisive); it is the access to financial resources, expertise, raw materials and scale". Such observations help him to lend support to the theoretical postulates of economists like Dobb and Takahshi (especially the latter's view of transition from merchant to industrial capital in Asia).

Working conditions and labour relations in the small industry sector have been discussed in the fifth chapter. Not only the workers have not been getting a fair deal, they being the lowest paid, least protected and least organised; even the employers have not been happy with the situation, in spite of their philosophy and action "to keep them (the workers) under the thumb".

CASE TYPICAL OF MOST PLACES

In more than one way, Bulsar case is typical of the rest of India, of various small towns and out of the way *talukas*, where industrialisation has come at a slow pace. Bulsar mirrors the situation and the social scene in many parts of the land, differences of language, religion, caste composition and climate of the towns or regions notwithstanding. That is why it is a strongly recommended book for sociologists, economists, political scientists, policy-makers or administrators alike, and for all those who believe in planned and carefully engineered process of social change.

In a short concluding chapter, Steerferk has tried to summarise his findings and give some policy-changing recommendations. For example, the rural or small-scale industrial programmes in smaller towns must have greater relevance or relationship with the rural surroundings. Or that there should be no (or very limited) use of imported machines. Or that better living and working conditions with better wages and better labour relations can go a long way to improve labour efficiency, though there is also the danger of some weak or marginally profitable units closing down in the process.

Since the book has been sent to a sociologist for review (which has been received and is reproduced below—Ed.) and since this note is meant to be a curtain-raiser, perhaps it would not be proper to cover more details or other aspects of this down-to-earth study. But as mentioned above we have no hesitation to recommend its perusal by a cross section of the intelligentsia and the

academic community. Both the author and the publisher and others associated with the project deserve our thanks and appreciation for the approach and the painstaking as well as unbiased effort, and above all for making the study available in a fairly reasonable priced book in the English medium. If such is the result of Indo-Dutch Development Programme, let there be more of such collaboration.

(B. H.)

II

Reviewed by M. K. Singh

Throughout the world, the term 'Industrialization' has, indeed, become a magic word. It is a key to development which opens the doors to prosperity, affluence, economic and social progress.

THE MANTRA OF INDUSTRIALISATION

The planners faced with an intellectual challenge to plan for development, thus consider industrialization as the right road to development, and suggest a bold plunge into it. Gunner Myrdal and Murray, for instance, opine that industrialization is indispensable for economic development, and suggest that, "In countries like India and Japan with high ratio of population to natural resources and in particular to land, manufacturing industry represents virtually the only hope of greatly increasing labour productivity and raising level of living, however much is done to improve the agriculture.*"

The case of Japan which nation rose from the ashes of the second World War and has achieved miracles in a short-time with rapid industrialization, now serves as a model for other countries. India, as a developing country, is also pinning its hopes on "Industrialization" and is

(*Shrinivas Y. Thakur : *Industrialization and Economic Development*, Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1985, p. 16)

endeavouring to spread industrialization in its rural sector, thus attempting for balanced development. The work in hand, entitled "*Industrial Transition in Rural India*" is a peep into an area of economic activity which is quite important for the nation and is being talked of by the planners as well as academicians.

The book under review is an outcome of a part of an Indo-Dutch Sociological Research Project (1970-72) on processes of social change in South Gujarat" p. (ii). The focus of the study is on the development of small-scale industries in the rural areas of South Gujarat and its sociological implications. The author discusses the forces behind the formation of entrepreneurial class and the working class, the sources of capital formation, the relationship between management and workers in industries, among the workers themselves, the working conditions in industries and the process of social mobility at work in this area.

THE PROCESSES OF DE-INDUSTRIALIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

The study starts with a description of the process of de-industrialization in India, during the colonial period, as a result of the policy adopted by the government of the day. The native capital formation was badly affected, and it was definitely impeded due to the prevalence of factors like insufficient government support in terms of loans; contracts not to be given to Indians and other effective measures. This resulted in the concentration of local means of industrial production in the hands of limited number of financiers. One of the sociological complications of this was the birth of national bourgeois class. The 'Tatas' and 'Birlas' were born who wielded power, not only during that period, but even after independence. The Industrial Policy of 1948 had their stamp on it.

The author delineates later the expansion of industrialization and the unhealthy trends that set in. Some of the weak spots here have been : the concentration of ownership of production in the hands of

only a few ; more and more foreign intervention in industries and the incapacity of the industries to absorb the potential workers. These factors, along with foreign participation in Indian industry, had curtailing effects on the possibilities of development.

FROM CRAFTS TO INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION—THE CASE OF BULSAR AND BILIMORA

A transition from crafts to industrial production in Bulsar and Bilimora, after the turn of the century and up to 1960 has been observed, though the two towns have developed differently. The factors responsible for this divergence in the two towns are firstly the difference in agro-economic conditions of the two towns; second, the prevailing political situation over there and lastly, the economic background of the population of the area. The town of Bilimora, for instance, has *Suthar* industrialists many of whom had spent quite some time in Africa and had a sound financial base. Similarly, the agrarian orientation of part of the industrial production of *Suthars* and *Luhars* and the co-operation between politicians, *Luhars*, *Suthars* and other industrialists in Bilimora had a combined positive impact. Thus Bilimora has developed more, while Bulsar has lagged behind. To add to the above situation of contrast, the favourable location of Bilimora in the more fertile agricultural region, where the benefits of agrarian and secondary production can be taken, was yet another plus point in its favour adding to its achievements. The blacksmiths and the carpenters of Bilimora have turned into successful entrepreneurs and manufacturers of pumps, parts of tractors and agricultural implements. Both Bulsar and Bilimora have developed ; but both are at different levels of development.

TRADERS AS INDUSTRIAL ENTREPRENEURS

Hein Streefkerk in his study emphasizes the fact that trading and land-owning castes can become successful

entrepreneurs ; their suitability to entrepreneurship cannot be doubted. This phenomenon of conversion from trading caste to entrepreneurship can also be observed all over the country—in Bombay, Delhi, Hyderabad, Ludhiana (Punjab) and Rajkot. Some of the motivating factors which turn people to entrepreneurship are—(i) access to financial resources, (ii) expertise, (iii) availability of raw materials and (iv) possible markets to ensure sale of the products. The contacts developed by *Jains* and *Bania* class in Bulsar, due to their say in political arena, puts them in a more favourable position, and they have become successful entrepreneurs. The Schumpeterian theory thus, can no longer successfully explain the Indian situation.

LABOUR RELATIONS

Workers of the small-scale industries perpetually face the enigma of lack of legal protection, low wages and subordinate position in the system. The same situation prevails in Bulsar and Bilimora. Majority of the workers earn very low income (p. 245). The availability of cheap labour is conducive to development of small-scale industry in and around Bulsar (p. 245).

As far as the relations between employer and employees are concerned, they are regulated by "personalistic dimensions" (p. 245). The role of the union is not only limited to the promotion of workers interest which is more often than 'not', but mainly enhancement of their personal status. "The role of the union leader is best described as that of a broker : a person who knows how to bind workers, and who, in effect, serves as a means of labour control for management". (p. 247). This situation prevails almost everywhere.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

The present study describes the process of mobility at work. The 'fathers' of the present entrepreneurial class had accumulated capital by working for others, and today they have become owners of industrial

work places. Thus they are the economic elite of their caste and of the artisan caste in general. (p. 78). Similarly, the attempts like use "... of surname 'Mistry' is an attempt on the part of *Suthars* and others to express an altered economic and social position, and by doing so, to keep themselves away from their past". (p. 99). The *Suthars* getting involved in welfare activities or seeking membership in certain groups is another attempt of the caste seeking identification with higher castes.

A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION

As a researcher, Streefkerk had started with two research aims. To quote him, "First, it (the study) fills a gap in our knowledge, since relatively little scientific research has been focused on entrepreneurs and especially labourers in small-scale industries... Secondly, from a policy perspective, the study of modern small-scale industry is desirable. The development of small-scale industry occupies an important place in the 'basic needs strategy' fight against poverty championed by the International Labour Office (I.L.O.)" (p.3).

As far as the first aim is concerned, the present study is no doubt valuable, as it describes the kind or the nature and degree of transformation being experienced by the towns of Bulsar and Bilimora. The formation of two classes and the process of social mobility are both clearly described. It further re-affirms that the plight of workers in small-scale industry here is no better than anywhere else.

As far as the second aim is concerned, as pointed out by the author himself, "... this closing section will be lustreless and disappointing for many". (p. 267). It is indeed so, as no practicable and concrete solution which can have policy relevance has been suggested.

Nevertheless this does not reflect in any way on the nature of the work. The complex social situation definitely cannot possibly lead to any solution. The critical analysis given by the author and different alterna-

tives suggested by him, are thought-provoking and valuable in their own way. Many questions have been raised and suggestions offered by him. It is felt that additional studies on similar lines need to be taken up be-

fore we can come to a final agreement which can be used for policy formulation.

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The Search For Excellence

John W. Gardner

EXCELLENCE—CAN WE BE EQUAL AND EXCELLENT TOO ?

Vakils, Feffer and Simons Ltd., Bombay (Revised Edition 1984) Pages 175

Price Rs. 58/-

Reviewed by Kewal Khanna

(Recently this small volume has been making the rounds of Indian academic and professional circles followed by a series of seminars and discussions. It is a 25 years old treatise on the pursuit of excellence in the fields of education and public life and, by inference, in the democratic society of U.S.A. Its author, John W. Gardner, a former cabinet member of the US Government (as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare from 1965-1968) and the founder of the Common Cause (1970) has since been acknowledged as "a civic philosopher" and "conscience of America" by recent reviewers in the New York Times Book Review (1984) and the Choice Magazine (November 1985) respectively. This book is claimed to have "moved a nation to higher standards of achievements," which may well be true, if one compares the standards of performance in public life in USA in 1980's with those in the early sixties. In any case, the book seems to have motivated millions to do their best and achieve excellence in their professional lives. We also received a copy of this interesting and stimulating book, though not for the purpose of review. However, a local friend felt inspired to write a few lines by way of an assessment, which are presented here.

—Editors)

In "Excellence" a revised edition of a work first published in 1961, John W. Gardner has emphasised the need for evolving a civilised deli-

berate society in the USA. The author has virtually touched upon every aspect of American life and posed the question "Is excellence possible in a democracy?"

Gardner has based his thesis of excellence on the conflicts between three main accepted guidelines or principles of "hereditary privilege, equalitarianism and reward for individual performance", laying stress that we must seek out and nurture talent. That is everyone's business and particularly the main objective of the educational institutions. The author's analysis about the difficulties a democracy encounters in pursuing excellence have been discussed with a variety of individuals and groups throughout the length and breadth of U.S.A. In his writings, he has reached the conclusion that "excellence" is a curiously powerful word, a word about which people feel strongly and deeply, but it is a word that means different things to different people. He further says that as we interpret the word "excellence", we read into it our own interpretations, aspiration, conceptions of high standards, and our hopes for a better world.

SOCIAL CONTEXTS

Gardner is concerned with the social contexts in which excellence may survive in our society. His stress is on toning up the whole society, bringing the people to the highest edge of morale, conviction and zest that counts for greatness and high standards of life. In the chap-

ter on "The Great Talent Hunt", he says that in a world that is rocking with change, we need more than any thing else a high capacity for adjustment to new circumstances and a capacity for innovation. His conviction is that only ability and sound education can equip us for the continuous seeking of new solutions. That is why we must train our ablest young men and women in the fundamental fields of knowledge, rather than in the hot specialist fields of moment; and we must equip them to understand and cope with the change.

Concluding his main objective, that of 'excellence', Gardner has probed into the educational system and the apparatus evolved for individual's measurement of IQ. He is of the view that these instruments or tests were never evolved to test "success in life". To achieve excellence, a life-long learning and growth is essential. In the words of Henry James, "for talent and leadership there are two bad things in this American land of ours, the worship of money and the worship of intellect."

The author of "Excellence" has analysed the various failings and confusions of the American system and specially pinpointed that there is no conflict between democracy and excellence for both the individual and the society. It is an application towards the universe for those who are uneasy about the deteriorating national life the world over.

The author has further gone deeply into the definitions of excellence, which tend to be too narrow at the point where we are selecting individuals, or testing them or training them. In the course of daily life, mature people recognise many varieties of excellence in one another. But when we are selecting, testing or training, we arbitrarily narrow the range. The reasons for doing so are practical.

"Excellence" makes an excellent and thought provoking reading, and is a book to read and re-read. No doubt, his presentation and posers have a much wider relevance and application beyond the frontiers of America.

Kewal Khanna is Director (Finance) in the Jaipur Development Authority, Jaipur.

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Economic Data

S. R. Mohnot

INDUSTRIAL DATA BOOK, 1986

Published by Industrial Techno-Economic Services Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi,
for the Centre for Industrial and Economic Research (CIER),
New Delhi, Price Rs. 180.00

Reviewed by V. K. Gaur

With a marked spurt in economic and industrial activity in the country, the demand for reliable data has increased enormously. The present volume is, therefore, a welcome addition to the literature available in the field.

Information on economy and industry is, no doubt, available in a number of publications brought out by the government as well as private agencies. But it lies scattered and is often rendered incomparable by lack of common format. The Industrial Data Book makes a definite improvement in the situation. The publisher's claim that this is perhaps the first major endeavour "to delineate industrial statistics in India on a consolidated, comprehensive and consistent format yielding an aggregative profile of the Indian manufacturing industry" is amply justified by this work.

Our statistical system suffers from an inexplicable sluggishness. The present publication also suffers from some consequences of this feature. Some of the tables do not go beyond the year 1982. Reduction of time-lag would go a long way in

increasing the utility of the publication.

Planners as well as researchers frequently need *State-wise* data. In a number of cases, this need is answered by this publication, but is left unsatisfied in many other cases. *State-wise* break-up of all possible information would not only enhance the utility, but make it an indispensable hand-book.

Information on letters of intent, licenses, foreign collaborations etc. can also be given *state-wise* in future editions. In fact, data on licenses and letters of intent are often required for the 'No Industry Areas' or Centrally declared Backward Areas etc.

There is, however, no doubt about the value of the publication; and the publishers should be complimented for the effort. We look forward to future editions of the handbook.

V. K. Gaur is Planning and Co-ordination Manager with the Rajasthan Industrial Investment Corporation (RIICO) Jaipur.

Responses To The World's Panorama

Sheila Gujaral

TWO BLACK CINDERS

Allied Publishers, New Delhi (1985) pp. 43, price Rs. 25/-

Reviewed by Santosh Gupta

Sheila Gujaral's "Two Black Cinders" is her first collection of poems to be published in English. She is a well-known name in Hindi

and Punjabi as she has earlier published poems in the two languages. Her poems are by way of personal lyrical responses to the varied aspects

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of the world, its beauty as well as its miseries. She states modestly in the preface, "I have let my thoughts flow in whichever language the words appear in mind's screen". The poems have an ease, an effortless flow of words that makes an engaging and pleasing reading.

Most of the poems are short scenes of the multi-coloured, changing panorama of the world. They are short vignettes, picking up various moments from the eternal flow of time—"Spring", "Summer", "Sun", "Mid-day Scene" or "Mid-night Scene" and "Lighting". They catch one's attention with expressions that are unexpected in their homelines. For example:

—"Mountain peak
was clad in "Burka"
Invisible to the searching eye,
Suddenly,
The lighting opened jaws
and spilled laughter". (p. 10).

Summer in India is like a guest who has stayed on too long—

—"In India, summer is like
An unwelcome guest,
Intruding into springy
tenderness,
How one shudders at the
thought
of its deathly clasp". (p. 17).

Sheila Gujaral notes with excitement the annual drama of winter, snow-fall, leaves falling from trees, and then, in spring, a bursting forth in a new splendour. "Sun-set" and "Sun-rise" arouse her sense of wonder, and she imparts to these events a new excitement and sparkle. She recreates these scene with a feeling that brings together the human and the natural world.

Her epitaph for the victims of the Kanishka Boeing accident in "Last Rites" brings out the sympathy for the helpless dead, and the closeness with the natural world—without giving in to excessive emotion:

—"Mother, Wives,
Daughters, Sisters.
Be assured

*Nature performs
their last rites
With tender care
and great precision.*' (p. 42).

A light irony similarly contends the poems dealing with personal feelings. "*I searched for you*", "*Recollections*", among others, speak of personal frustrations and longings.

Some of the poems reflect on the lack of sincerity, or self-centred attachments in much that goes by the name of 'love'. "*Last Soul*", "*Modern Romeo*" speak of the violence and exploitation that are the bane of human relationships in the present age. She is sarcastic of the shallow insensitive approach to life and people that one finds all around oneself.

In writing of these varied themes, the poet maintains the stance

of a detached observer. One, however, wishes for a deeper involvement that would lead to more intense concern with the subject than one finds in these poems. They however, reflect a sensitive, and trained mind, constantly engaged with the outer world in an active interaction, yet content to move from one image to another in a quick succession. The panorama of images pleases, but leaves out the deeper satisfaction derived from an intensely lived experience. They do, as the poet wishes for in the preface, cause "the slightest ripples in the reader's mind", but do not go beyond that,

Dr. (Mrs.) Santosh Gupta is Assistant Professor in the Deptt. of English, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur with her main interest in modern fiction, British, American or Indian.

Society's Mirror—The Press in India (1780-1835)

B. M. Sankhdher

PRESS POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN INDIA

Dynamics of Modernization and Social Transformation—

Deep and Deep Publications. New Delhi, (1984) Illustrated, p.p, 400

Price Rs. 200/-

Reviewed by Nityanand Sinha

In an interesting foreword, Professor Amba Prasad describes the press as a mirror of society and the present work as an excellent contribution. In his words :—

"The press is a mirror of society. It reflects the ideas and aspirations of the people. It shapes the destiny of mankind and its strength or excellence determines the politics and the socio-economic transformation of a nation..... Dr. B. M. Sankhdher concentrates in the present study on dynamics of modernization and socio-political transformation

in relation to the role played by the press during 1780-1835".

The author's main focus is on the origin and development of the press in India, its nature and influence. In his opinion, the British considered India as a mine charged with combustibles, and, therefore, the freedom of the press appeared to them like forcing the Europeans to enter that mine with a flowing torch in their hands. The Company also did not follow a policy of religious neutrality or non-intervention; but it encouraged the spread of Christia-

nity and the conversion of the people to that religion.

MORE FRIGHTENING THAN DRUMS OF WAR

According to the author, the press succeeded to exert tremendous pressure on the Government during the period 1780-1835. Writing about its influence around 1835, the author remarks ;

"Instruments of peace are always more dangerous than weapons of war. The editorials and comments of Ram Mohun Roy, Henry Derozio, James Buckingham, William Adam, Prashana Kumar Tagore, Bal Shastri Jambhekar, and Rasika Krishana Malik were always more frightening to the British colonialism than the drums of war. Their comments and criticism served as spark plugs which fired up the people and stimulated them for a fast and thorough transformation of Indian society and politics. They helped them in climbing up, step by step, the pyramids of power. Despite tremendous pressure and fears of arrest, imprisonment, physical torture and deportation, the editors now threw bombs and rained bullets on religion, politics and government."

The author feels that the ideological foundations of modern India were laid during the period 1780-1835. In his view,

"Contact with the western world through the British rule, thus led to a unique experiment. The clash of cultures and conflicts of civilizations laid the ideological foundations of a new modern India in this crisis of ideology. The press played a most distinct and most distinguished role."

WIDE AND VARIED COVERAGE

The author has made good use of about two dozen newspapers of the time. He has based the study not only on the archival and non-archival materials available in India, but also on some rare historical sources available at the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; British Museum, London; University of

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London; University of Nottingham; Scottish Record Office; Edinburgh; India Office Library, London; Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Cleveland Public Library, Ohio; and the Library of Congress, Washington.

Besides the ideas of Adam Smith, James Mill, Thomas Paine, Edmund Burke, Sir William Jones, H. H. Wilson, Francis Bacon, Ram Mohun Ray, Bal Shastri Jambhekar, Henry Derozio, Miss Emma Robert and Jeremy Bentham, the author also discusses the role of newspapers and periodicals of those days—*They Spy*, *The Traffier*, *the Ghost*, *The Portfolio*, *The Orient Pearl*, *The Seaman's Friend*, *The Shipping Intelligence*, and *O Mensaggero Bombaynese etc*—about which the Press Commission of the Government of India and other scholars such as S. Natarajan, Magarita Barns, S. Chalapati Rao, Dr. Tara Chand and Dr. R. C. Majumdar have not spoken or written a word.

The author has discussed a large number of questions in this work packed with excellent ideas and covering various angles. How a large number of individuals and institutions took up the proprietorship of newspapers with a view to providing a favourable slant to certain news-items. How the press became instrumental in modernization and secularization. How British politicians felt alarmed at the East India Company's "cornucopis of Indian patronage", which had fast become a means of dominating politics in England. How the Co's monopolies were not only opposed to the principles of good economy, but they were likely to go against the prosperity of the English people. How European colonization or the permission to Europeans to settle in India was likely to lead to depopulation of England. And how the Company drained the Indian economic reservoir without turning it into a stream.

Surveying the pages of Company rule in trading, the author also throws some light on how the Co's policies were dictated by the economic or commercial interests of Manchester, Lancashire and Glasgow. How

it forced India to produce raw materials alone. How the Company ruralized India. How the flood of Indian capital created prosperity or modernization in England; and how this drain of Indian wealth brought about poverty, ignorance, unemployment, starvation and death in India.

The author brings to light not only the social rigidities and ills of the country—such as *sati*, infanticide, slavery, human sacrifices, dalliance with women during *Muharram* funeral feasts, man-slaughter, obscenity connected with *charak puja*, but he also delves deep into the question of debauchery of the European society in India, racism, mal-treatment of the Indian people by the Euro-

pean society in India and sophisticated techniques adopted by the Christian missions in India with the veiled and blatant support of the Company's authorities for the *christianisation* of the Indian people.

The bibliography runs into about 400 articles published in the Indian and foreign newspapers during 1780-1835. The effort from the viewpoint of both source material and interpretation is praise-worthy.

Nityanand Sinha is a freelance journalist based in Delhi. (Since we did not receive a review copy of the book from the publishers, we do appreciate this gesture of co-operation.)

—Editors

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News And Reports

In some recent issues we have tried to project some of the recent academic and allied activities through special articles or reports. Commencing with this number, we are opening this new section in the IBC for which contributions are invited.

—Editors

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GEOMORPHOLOGY (1985)

Report by H. S. Sharma

During recent years, geomorphology, the science dealing with the genesis of landforms, has assumed much importance and made rapid strides. Many, besides the natural scientists, have come to realise that researches in geomorphology are very helpful in the study of varied aspects of natural environment, which has become a major focus of every-one's concern these days.

It was, therefore, not surprising that the first International Conference on Geomorphology held at Manchester last year, attracted geomorphologists from all over, with a noticeable presence from the so-called Third World countries. (There were eight delegates from India). The conference gave them a unique opportunity to renew or establish contacts with each other, and to review and exchange information on recent developments with some of the distinguished scientists and academicians of renown.

Credit for this get-together must go to the British Geomorphological Group (BGRG) for taking the initiative and hosting the conference. The BGRG has considerable experience in this field, having convened many important conferences in the past 25 years (including the 1975 conference on *Geomorphology: Inventory and Prospect* and the 1980 conference on *Megageomorphology*). But the *First International Conference on Geomorphology* (FICOG) was the first conference to be truly international with nearly 675 delegates from 51 countries and a total of 713 abstracts submitted by their authors from 60 countries.

Of course, numbers alone do not spell success. However, when numbers are combined with a meaningful programme of presentation and discussion of papers, the potential for success is great. Excellent organisation and attention to details prior to and during the conference, ensured that this potential was duly achieved.

The papers ranged from applied aspects to "theoretical" geomorphology, from fluvial to arid, and from ancient to "modern" landforms, and from descriptive to highly quantitative methods. The running of several sessions simultaneously proved rather strenuous for many participants who had to shuttle from one session to another. In spite of the

disparity in standards and the variety of what was offered, the papers discussed were generally of a fairly high standard.

The FICOG had one other attribute which is so often missing in conferences of such nature and dimensions and that is the exceptionally high level of camaraderie that developed, once the conference was under way. Many delegates, whose paths had long ago diverged, found themselves together again. Equally important, many delegates who knew each other by name only, met at last and began to share each other's research experiences. The occasion also provided a stimulus for further research, particularly through international co-operation.

VARIOUS WAYS OF EXCHANGE AND ASSESSMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

The organisers, under the leadership of Ian Douglas, chairman of the organising committee and a leading geomorphologist in the world (with his work on erosion rates, tropical geomorphology and urban geomorphology), provided at least 10 different ways (including the very important *tete-a-tete* sessions) of looking at and assessing the status of geomorphology. These included the usual paper sessions, plenary sessions, workshops, sub-disciplinary business meetings (mostly IGU related), field trips, poster sessions, exhibitions by equipment manufacturers and publishers, conference publications and a variety of social functions. Just how important each of these approaches was to the participants in Manchester and later in their working lives is a highly personal matter. An examination of the publications on display probably inspired more than one participant to go home and begin that 'special' book, he had been contemplating. A field trip experience may have strengthened (or weakened, but improved) a particular thesis that was being developed. Sitting next to a foreign colleague at the conference dinner may well have been the catalyst that was needed to venture on a joint research project. And cursory examination of the abstracts' volume with its 713 entries ranging from Abrahams (USA) and Acaso (Spain) to Zong (China) and Zurek (Poland) could hardly help but strengthen one's faith in the future of geomorphology.

Despite all the varied or subsidiary activities mentioned above, the essence and the success of the FICOG rested on the research reports presented either orally (in 25 subject areas) or as posters (in 18 subjects areas). The number of sessions devoted to oral presentations varied from one (in the case of Off-shore Geomorphology—4 papers and Weathering—3 papers) to nine sessions (in the case of Applied Geomorphology and Land Conservation—a total of 27 papers).

With 23 subject areas divided into a large number of concurrent sessions, a keen participant had to be especially selective. Nonetheless, even such a selective process was adequate to provide a general feel for the overall international character of the presentations, because most sessions were arranged to insure a general mix of national presentations. In the sessions mainly on coastal, estuarine, alluvial theoretical, applied and periglacial topics which this reviewer attended, the papers presented were of relatively high quality and elicited some discussion. As is often the case, speakers were allowed to go over their time-limit, so that discussion in many instances was curtailed. There was also the difficulty that arises from the presentation of a paper in a language other than one's own.

Some of the best information on geomorphic research was provided by posters, which were among the best prepared that I have seen at any conference, partly, I believe, because of the strict limitations placed on their size. In order to present on-going research adequately within the allocated must/have required much thought and organisation.

A ROUGH AND READY SNAP-SHOT

A cursory examination of the various sub-topics considered (within the 25 main subject areas) could lead one to conclude that the conference offered "a very rough and ready a 'snapshot' of the state of geomorphology in 1985", as suggested by Tom Spencer editor of the abstract volume. It is probable that if one was able to produce a valid "snapshot", it would vary somewhat (although not be much) from that portrayed by the conference. The reason for such a variation would probably stem from the fact that the conference (as proposed in the first circular) was to place emphasis on the areas of "Geomorphology,

Environmental Management and the Developing World". There are some geomorphologists—especially those more concerned with strictly basic research—who did (could) not attend. Whether their presence would have changed the overall make-up of the final programme is debatable.

One of the main objectives of the organisers was to determine and underscore the desire on the part of the world's geomorphologic community for the establishment of some kind of international organisation. The results of a thorough survey on this by David Sugden prior to the conference in Manchester were presented. The general consensus (of the survey) was that it would be premature to set up an international organisation at the present time. Therefore, it was recommended to and approved by the general assembly that an International Committee should be established to investigate the correct form such an organisation should take. This Committee, consisting of 7 geomorphologists was created at the same general assembly and charged with reporting its findings in the year 1989. It was also agreed that that a news-letter should be initiated.

The Second International Conference on Geomorphology is now scheduled to be held in West Germany in 1989. As someone noted in Manchester, the BGRG has placed the "nail very high on the wall", an observation agreed upon by all in attendance. In my opinion, the "height" of the nail not only reflects the organisational ability and foresight of the BGRG but, what is even more important in long run, also the desire (and need) of geomorphologists around the world for a common organisational framework.

From India eight delegates attended this conference. Their papers ranged from theoretical morphometry (H. S. Sharma) to structural control on evolution of land forms (Savindra Singh) and from applied to coastal geomorphology (R. K. Rai and A. S. Nair respectively). However, to establish their research credibility with the international community of earth scientists, the Indian geomorphologists have indeed to work really hard.

Our reviewer, Dr. H. S. Sharma is a Reader in the Deptt. of Geography in Rajasthan University. His visit was made possible by financial aid from the University and the ICCSR.

TOWARDS AN—

Asia-Pacific Information Network In Social Sciences (Apiness)

A Report

During 12th to 16th May, 1986, Bangkok witnessed what may be a historic moment in the exchange of social sciences information in the Asia-Pacific

region with the launching of the first ever Asia-Pacific Information Network in Social Sciences (API-NESS). Experts from 17 countries in the region were

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present on the occasion under the joint sponsorship of UNESCO and the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC).

Dr. Makaminan Makagiansar, Assistant Director General of UNESCO, in his inaugural address, expressed the hope that the network would fill a fundamental void and provide social scientists of the region greater access to their colleagues' and each other's work.

Prof. Iqbal Narain, Member Secretary, ICSSR and Secretary General, AASSREC was happy that this "Asian Association" would continue to cooperate with all its members in working the new system of exchange. He felt that the network should help to collect and disseminate information about accumulated contributions to study and research of the social science scholars in the region, and this would ultimately enrich the pool of universal knowledge.

BRIDGING THE INFORMATION GAP

The activities of the APINESS (or the functions of the network) will be to link up the existing major social science libraries and documentation centres in the region to facilitate the exchange of knowledge. It will further encourage development of *new information centres and clearing houses* and assist in *improving bibliographical control, indexing and abstracting services, producing directories and inventories and computerisation of the total documentation system*.

Explaining the need and advantages for such a network, Dr. Iqbal Narain also sketched out in some detail the "bridging" role being played by the AASSREC. As he said, "For the past twelve years, AASSREC through its various activities like biennial conferences, collaborative research projects etc. has been able, to a certain extent, to bridge the *communication gap* among the Asian and Pacific social scientists. But a wide *information gap* still exists. Social scientists from Asia and the Pacific as yet refer to social science theories, researches and concepts developed in the West only, and very rarely cite the works of social scientists on the region". Recalling the words of a social scientist at the founding conference of AASSREC, he said "our reference groups and 'the significant others' to whom we (most Asian scholars) address our work are mostly located in Europe and the United States". He pleaded that the time has come "to get over this situation at last", and APINESS should be "a significant beginning in this direction".

Commenting on the several objectives of AASSREC such as "to encourage exchange of information among Asian and Pacific social scientists", he said that, "it is a specialized task requiring a special set-up managed by personnel trained in the art and science of documentation. It was for this reason that both UNESCO and AASSREC have been

toying, for the past ten years, with the idea of developing a mechanism whereby the existing national social science documentation centres in the region could be knit together to provide information and documentation services to scholars in the Asian and Pacific region".

Prof. Iqbal Narain was confident that the establishment of this network would *bridge the information gap* among the Asian and Pacific region social scientists, and open up new vistas of academic collaborative research and cooperation in the region by disseminating information about accumulated contributions to study and research of the social science scholars in the region, and ultimately enriching the pool of universal knowledge.

UNESCO/RUSHSAP SUPPORT TO APINESS

Acknowledging the immense contribution of UNESCO and its Regional Unit for Social and Human Sciences in Asia and the Pacific (RUSHSAP) in this endeavour, Prof. Iqbal Narain noted that, "It is common knowledge that RUSHSAP in the past one decade has provided yeoman's service to the cause of social sciences in the Asia-Pacific region by way of academic and financial inputs. As usual, they have always been receptive to new ideas". He added "I know how Dr. Atal and his team at the RUSHSAP have worked hard for the establishment of network. In fact the launching of APINESS is a tribute to RUSHSAP and its staff".

With RUSHSAP financial assistance a study on the 'feasibility' of setting up a regional network of social science information and documentation centres was prepared by Professor Ursula Picache of the University of Philippines. Her report was then discussed at a special session of the Sixth General Conference of AASSREC held at Bali (Indonesia) in September 1985, when almost all the delegates expressed the unanimous view that the network must be established immediately notwithstanding the fact that in most of the Asian countries, social science research is done not in English, but in their respective languages.

The need for establishing a regional network of social science information and documentation was also emphasized at the meeting of the Executive Council of AASSREC where, in fact, the acronym—APINESS—emerged.

INDIA'S ROLE IN APINESS

In his address to the participants, Dr. S. P. Agarwal, Director, National Social Science Documentation Centre (New Delhi) or NASSDOC spoke of the glorious past of treasure-houses of knowledge, such as the ancient libraries at Nalanda and Taxila. Because of such traditions, he added, priceless

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manuscripts were preserved for posterity, despite invasions and wars which led to destruction of cultural heritage. Witness for example, the "Jainology collection" in the dry desert of Rajasthan, or the Sarfoji Library in South India. Recalling the setting up of ICSSR in 1969, Dr. Agarwal noted that it gave a great impetus to social science research in India. The ICSSR, in turn, he added, developed a well organised infra-structure of its own, consisting of National Documentation Centre in Social Sciences (NASSDOC), Data Archives, Six Regional Centres, and twenty-one research institutes which are financially supported by it.

TOWARDS A NATIONAL INFORMATION SYSTEM

He also explained some activities initiated by the Archives and NASSDOC to promote the concept of "networking" by associating more and more libraries, documentation and information centres so as to develop a *National Information System* in Social Sciences, which could collaborate with other countries of the region to pursue identified common objectives.

Such efforts have covered the following steps:—

- (1) Compilation of discipline-oriented union catalogues;
- (2) Creation of Central Abstracting Service in Social Sciences;
- (2) Compilation of Index of articles, with particular reference to SAARC countries, to be with;
- (4) Taking up training programmes for human resource development; (NASSDOC is now preparing to undertake a course leading to Associateship in Library and Information Studies in Social Science (ALIS) and concurrent with this, short-term inclusive courses—the first such course is proposed to be on Management Information Service in Libraries);
- (5) Providing bibliographical information about Indian publications in social science disciplines to international documentation agencies (viz ; NASSDOC provides data to International Committee for Social Science Information and Documentation (ICSSID) for international bibliographies in the fields of Anthropology, Economics, Political Science and Sociology);
- (6) NASSDOC has also been developing close relations with other international library and documentation organisations to promote networking concept, NASSDOC has also developed exchange relations with International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA).

As far as India is concerned (and its large and wide-spread faculty of social sciences) to begin with, the ICSSR National Documentation Centre (NASSDOC) will undertake the following activities within the APINESS network :

- (a) Mail NASSDOC Research Information Series publications to *National Contact Points*;
- (b) Compile and up-date directory of APINESS participants;
- (c) Provide regional dimension to professional training courses which are planned to be started by NASSDOC; and
- (d) Distribute (re-post in India) among Indian participating centres and other institutions, publications received from the UNESCO Regional Office and APINESS National Contact Groups.

Based on background material and report received through the courtesy of Dr. S. P. Agarwal, Director, National Social Science Documentation Centre, ICSSR, New Delhi, who has now become one of the two elected Vice-Chairmen of the APINESS.

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An Experiment In Educating People For Peace

G. B. K. HOOJA*

In the International Year of Peace, 1986, the PEOPLE'S MARCH FOR A NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY was a unique experiment at the people's level. For most of us from India who joined the March through Italy, Switzerland and France, it would long remain a memorable experience.

The event was officially sponsored and organised by an international group of non-violent activists with head-quarters in New Delhi, GANDHI IN ACTION jointly with the International Study Center of the New Culture for the Expansion of Human Consciousness (head-quarters in Borgosesia, Italy), with the cooperation of local groups and associations.

In the words of the International Co-ordinator, Riccardo Gramigna : "Usually a March for Peace is understood as a gathering of *pacifists* demonstrating against nuclear weapons, war, apartheid etc, with a *typical attitude of protest against governments*. These marches are for good reasons misunderstood by the people, and we certainly did not want the people to react and close into their prejudices and fears. We wanted the people to open towards each others. We wanted the *people to take action and responsibility in performing their part in 'making, world peace* by committing themselves to creating peace within and without their personal world, within themselves, their families, their communities. Therefore, *the March for a Non-violent Society*."

When I and my son, Arun, received the invitation from Arya Bhushan Bhardwaj, the Indian Co-ordinator, to join the March, we readily accepted it and found ourselves marching through Italy, Switzerland and France, in the company of 25 learned scholars, peace activists, social workers and practitioners of non-violence.

Before leaving Delhi, the delegation called on the President of India, Giani Zail Singh, on the 10th June. The Rashtrapati was happy to note that the common people in India and abroad had come forward to assert themselves on behalf of universal peace. He observed that many among the office-holders in the government, everywhere, were prisoners of political exigencies and could not do much by way of positive action.

Next day, we assembled at the Gandhi Samadhi and invoked the blessings of the Father of the Nation. From there to the Anuvrata House to receive the benediction of Muni Mahendra Kumar,

IN ITALY

From 13 to 19 June, the March was hosted by the Community of the Ark founded by Lanza del

Vasto, an Italian wanderer, who had visited Mahatma Gandhi in Sevagram Ashram in Wardha in 1937, and had been named Shanti Das by the Mahatma. We visited several centres where non-violent action and training programmes are being conducted and were thrilled to be amongst the communities where a *nonviolent life-style* has been adopted. The Indian delegates had the chance to study and compare these experiments with those of the Gandhian Action programmes in India. Some of the participants were quite impressed to see the European people seeking and living an alternative life-style free from many of the so-called modern facilities or manifestations of a market based consumeristic society. These communities seemed to be leading a more or less self-reliant and simple existence right in the heart of the industrial civilisation, the kind of life which rural people of India have been living for centuries, but which is now being apishly replaced by the western culture of industrialisation and consumerism.

GENEVA

On the 20th June, the delegation proceeded from Grebnole to Geneva, and was officially received at the UN Headquarters by the Deputy-Director General who expressed the appreciation of the UN Organisation for the initiative of the marchers. We handed over to him a memorandum to be transmitted to the UN Secretary-General.

On June 21, we reached the Green Village (Villaggio Verda) in Cavallirio, a Community Project for a Non-violent Society which is being built in a rural setting at the foothills of the Alps. From here, the march went across the Valsesia Valley, hosted by villages and towns such as Borgomanero, Borogosesia, Quarona, Varallo, Alagna. In every locality, the march had a very positive reception from the people, who participated in large numbers in the meetings and held discussions on the topic of "How to build a Non-violent Society".

In all towns, civic receptions were given by the mayors, and as mementos of the march, trees of peace were planted.

EUROPE'S CONCERN

One evening, at a public meeting it was suggested that we invite the audience to ask questions so that we should understand the working of their minds. Three ladies asked three pertinent questions :

1. How to save our children from the menace of T. V. ?

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2. How to organise after-school time of our children when both parents have to work ?
3. Nearly 2000 years ago, Christ had preached values of Love and Non-violence. But we are where we are. 'No better'. Does Marx offer a solution ?

These questions gave us same inkling into the minds of the common European folk, their fears and anxieties. Indeed these are typical of the worries of mothers all over the world and disclose the deep humanitarian concerns and practical bias of an average woman's mind.

As we threw these questions open for debate before the general assembly and let the participants sitting around the camp fire in Parco Magni, Borgosesia, to find some answers, the following action programme seemed to emerge :

- The educationists should develop character-building, man-making, and inspiring software for use by the T. V.
- Local administrations and local communities should provide healthy social and sports facilities for children.
- Comparative studies of world religions should be encouraged.
- Biographies of saints and religious leaders should be broadcast by audio-visual media.
- Forward-looking citizens should work for building a global society and for demolition of national barriers.
- A new social and economic order should be evolved to remove the injustices and extremes of inequality which mark the present economic scenario.

When the delegates met at breakfast the next day, it was decided that Mahavir Bhai, H.L. Sharma, Arun and I should prepare a draft of a manifesto to be issued from Mt. Rosa on the last day of our march, and circulate it for a full and frank discussion in the meanwhile.

OUR MANIFESTO

In this draft manifesto, we addressed ourselves to four categories of people who hold the controlling levers of society in their hands.

- (i) *To the parents, the teachers and the priests*, we said : "Please set an example of *non-violent living* before your kids and followers, for they are apt to emulate your examples."
- (ii) *We called upon the have-nots of the world*, the vast international community of the *under-privileged and suffering humanity*, "to arise, awake and to organise themselves to present a united and strong front cutting across national, regional and religious barriers so as to find their place under the sun."

(iii) From the *business community and the industrial magnates* who hold the vast material and physical resources of the world in their hands, we expected that "they would act as *trustees* and *not masters of the wealth of the world* and should work in the interests of the common folk and the less-privileged sections of society, and certainly *not as merchants of death*, and desist from the present trend to indulge in arms race, arms manufacture and distribution."

(iv) *To the rulers of the world, the politicians* and the UNO, we appealed for *breaking national barriers* with a view to establishing a *World Federal Order* and a *World Government*.

This effort duly stimulated the deliberations of the sub-committees which had been earlier formed on several subjects related to "building a non-violent society for world peace". The resolutions of the sub-committees were considered at the Alagna meeting at the foothills of Mt. Rosa and were given a final shape by Bhatt, Riccardo and Arya Bhushan before being released.

A HAVAN YAJNA ON MT. ROSA

On the last day, the 30th of June, on the top of Mount Rosa, the most magical and mystical mountain of the Alps, vibrations of human love and universal peace were irradiated over the world with an impressive *Havan Yajna* ceremony performed according to the ancient Vedic rites.

During the march, all participants agreed in continuing the effort in promoting a campaign on international basis for *overcoming fear* and rebuilding confidence of man in the fellow man. Also a *project of global education* was proposed to be carried on in cooperation with 'Gandhi in Action' (International) and the International Study Centre of the New Culture for the Expansion of Human Consciousness with a view to arousing human consciousness to the ancient Indian concept of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbkam* world family and global unity.

The credit (and all personal thanks) for this unusual and successful adventure should go to Riccardo Gramegna and his charming wife Margaret, and their many comrades who undertook an arduous task and performed it with remarkable cheer and unforgettable enthusiasm, and of course, to the Indian Coordinator Arya Bhushan Bhardwaj who invited us to join them in this quest for peace.

*Former V. C. Gurukula Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, G. B. Kumar Hooja now lives in New Delhi, and often joins such causes in search of appropriate alternatives for remoulding men's minds and restructuring social institutions.

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(Vol. XI No. 8 August 1986)

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Homage to Tagore

By Mulk Raj Anand

(A tribute by the well-known author 40 years ago)

A slim book of about 40 pages was published by a new se at Lahore, the Sangam Publishers Ltd. It was entitled 'Homage to Tagore'. Its author was the well-known novelist and writer, Mulk Raj Anand.

As mentioned in his prefatory note, he was offering his tribute to Tagore to eat humility. Such a tribute was overdue. "While his work, based mainly on the charming lyrics of the *Gitanjali*, for us his work has important implications if we really face the problems of literature in India and to contribute any contemporary renaissance, of which he was one of the chief not the sole initiator."

TAGORE'S THREE CONTRIBUTIONS

FIRST : RENAISSANCE

It was Mulk Raj Anand who was writing about the great poet Tagore five years of the latter's demise, and on the eve of India's independence, the first great contribution of Rabindranath Tagore to the world was to insist on the fact of this renaissance itself, to make it clear that we are involved in the process of rebirth as a whole.

Anand observed, "At a very early stage in his literary career, he concentrated on those essentially human emotions and ideas which form the base of all external institutions.....which form the values by which society lives, the poetic or philosophic principles of the life of a 'new civilization.'.....and bridged the gulf between the old world and the new world, and came to be for us a symbol of real modernism in India."

For Mulk Raj Anand, the poet was deeply indebted to the simple working people of his land....."Rabindranath recorded the joy with which he entered into the life of this heritage of the folk tales and lyrics, and how close he came to ecstasy on these simple songs of the villages, poems of the powers of nature, the air, the water, the trees, rivers, which are so richly sensuous as they are deep, humorous as they are

but that was not enough, Tagore repaid his debt manifold ! He gave back songs he took from the earth. He gave back highly finished lyrics so that they are now sung in the cottages, so that they have made the local dialect of Bengal a great modern language of the world....." He also gave (over-leaf)

Anand : *HOMAGE TO TAGORE* published by Sangam Publishers, Lahore (1946) pp. 39 (Price Rs. one annas eight only.) A Surindra Sehgal (of Sehgal & Puri) who has been supporting the house since its start, had set up this publishing house along with B. Bedi, the reputed Urdu writer, and another friend Ashok for Hindi and English publications the, present editor of the magazine *Vilege* of seesins the book through the press.

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Indian Book Chronicle

Homage to Tagore

By Mulk Raj Anand

(A tribute by the well-known author 40 years ago)

Vol XI No. 8, August 1986

A Poet's Prayer—

INTO THAT HEAVEN
OF FREEDOM !

Where the mind is without fear
and the head is held high ;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not broken
up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls;

Where words come out from the
depth of truth ;

Where tireless striving stretches
its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason
has not lost its way into the
dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward
by thee into ever-widening thou-
ght and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my
Father, let my country awake !

Long years ago, in the lush green land of Bengal, a poet was singing his songs of the beauty and mystery of nature or the joys and sorrows of human life. Bengal was also astir, and waking up to new dreams and aspirations, especially by the turn of the century. But a future free from the foreign imperial yoke was nowhere in sight. In fact, many a long-drawn battle had yet to be joined, not only in Bengal but in various other parts of the country. It is not surprising that the young poet's sensitive soul also cried loud in anguish and hope for freedom.

To the west, across the vast sub-continent, in the rugged terrain of Maharashtra and the city of Poona, another patriot was restless as he

(continued over-leaf col. 2)

In 1946, a slim book of about 40 pages was published by a new publishing house at Lahore, the Sangam Publishers Ltd. It was entitled **Homage to Tagore**. Its author was the well-known novelist and writer, Mulk Raj Anand.

As he mentioned in his prefatory note, he was offering his tribute to Tagore with great humility. Such a tribute was overdue. "While his reputation abroad, based mainly on the charming lyrics of the *Gitanjali* has now waned, for us his work has important implications if we really mean to tackle the problems of literature in India and to contribute anything to the contemporary renaissance, of which he was one of the chief protagonists, if not the sole initiator."

TAGORE'S THREE CONTRIBUTIONS FIRST : RENAISSANCE

According to Mulk Raj Anand who was writing about the great poet within almost five years of the latter's demise, and on the eve of India's independence, "the first great contribution of Rabindranath Tagore to our renaissance was to insist on the fact of this renaissance itself, to make us conscious that we are involved in the process of rebirth as a whole people".

As Anand observed, "At a very early stage in his literary career, he began to concentrate on those essentially human emotions and ideas which are at the base of all external institutions.....which form the source of the values by which society lives, the poetic or philosophic contentions or the principles of the life of a new civilization."..... "Tagore bridged the gulf between the old world and the new world, and in this way he came to be for us a symbol of real modernism in India."

According to Mulk Raj Anand, the poet was deeply indebted to the folk songs of the simple working people of his land..... "Rabindranath has often recorded the joy with which he entered into the wonder land of this heritage of the folk tales and lyrics, and how he drank himself to ecstasy on these simple songs of the villages, poems addressed to the powers of nature, the air, the water, the trees, rivers and the hills richly sensuous as they are deep, humorous as they are tragic....."

As if that was not enough, Tagore repaid his debt manifold ! "He took his poetry to the earth. He gave back songs he took from the people, as highly finished lyrics so that they are now sung in the humblest cottages, so that they have made the local dialect of Bengal into one of the great modern languages of the world....." He also gave
(over-leaf)

Mulk Raj Anand : *HOMAGE TO TAGORE* published by Sangam Publishers Ltd. Lahore (1946) pp. 39 (Price Rs. one annas eight only.) A personal note : Surindra Sehgal (of Sehgal & Puri) who has been supporting this journal since its start, had set up this publishing house alongwith Rajendra Singh Bedi, the reputed Urdu writer, and another friend Ashok Hooja. As editor for Hindi and English publications the, present editor of IBC had the privilege of seeing the book through the press.

August 1986

Indian Book Chronicle

HOMAGE TO TAGORE

his people a new awakenig, a new voice. ".....for he inspired the people with belief that man can conquer nature, possess it and reap the rich fruits that it can yield....."

He was a poet of the people, always there "where the tiller is tilling the hard ground....." as the poet has said it in *Gitanjali*.

Thus Tagore not only took inspiration from the bounties and changing moods of mother nature and the life around him, but, "He went to the people for inspiration at a time when the intelligentsia" was showing "this tendency to despise the only integral tradition of culture which has survived amongst us to any extent, the culture of our primitive closely-knit communities, on the basis of which alone renaissance can be built up."

Mulk Raj felt compelled to warn his compatriots, especially the intelligentsia, "...we will ignore this lesson at our peril. As we stand between the old world and the new, we have no choice but, to help build up and perfect the renaissance, drawing our inspiration from the people as did Tagore."

INDIA'S FIRST NOVELIST

His second contribution, in addition to "the attempt at a new religion of man", in the words of Mulk Raj Anand, has been "to incarnate some of the chief types of the emerging middle and lower middle sections of Bengal in his writings and to re-integrate all the arts of the poetry, drama, story and particularly the novel in our country. And in this he showed an even greater courage than any Indian of his generation. For he was not afraid to present his own people to themselves and the whole world, as they really are.....In this respect also, he did more than merely reflect the life of the region of Bengal....."

Mulk Raj Anand hailed Tagore as "the first novelist in India" in the "formal" sense, even more or better than Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and many other predecessors of Tagore in this field of creative activity. He has in this context discussed many works of Tagore, his characterisation and writing techniques, and so on. A major part of his essay covers this discussion.

To quote Anand, ".....He showed how the individual in the modern sense began to arise in our society. And more than his subject matter, he took the techniques of prose fiction forward.....Tagore was, in the 'formal' sense, the first novelist of India....."

In the same breath, Anand explained,....."As soon as Indian society began to break up under the impact of Europe, the old narratives remained only survivals, and the modernist Tagore began to attempt more complex patterns to present the psychological relationship of individual men and women in the newly arising society of Bengal. The time was ripe for the emergence of the novel in India as an integral format", just as changes had taken place in Europe earlier with the advent of the industrial revolution, giving fillip to the art and technique of the novel. And then Mulk Raj proceeded to compare Tagore as a selfconscious artist in the novel form with his predecessor, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee who with his all vitality of experiences and a grasp of life, frequently absent in Tagore, is mainly a romancer.....extending the old myth and legend of India....." with an element of recital surviving "as in the lay of an ancient bard, minstrel or troubador".

To clarify his point, Mulk Raj Anand briefly discussed some of Tagore's works, his heroes and heroines, young and old, who with their frailties or lovable human qualities, linger long in our memories.

(Continued on next page)

A Poet's Prayer—

staked his claim on behalf of the people of India to their birth-right of *swarajya*. What did freedom or *swarajya* mean to them? And to their compatriots then? A vague and distant dream? An empty-sounding slogan?

Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, who sang many of his songs with the local people and for them, also conveyed his poetical concept of a new identity for the resurgent nation and an idea of its future destiny, as he gave a mystical and lyrical articulation to what the masses felt about life and future. He dared to dream and put forward a bold concept of freedom, its deeper and lasting human meaning, and its challenge!

Today, we sing a Tagore song as our national anthem on various national occasions and state functions asserting that the people are their own destiny-makers. (Or did Tagore have some other *Bhagya-Vidhata* in mind?) We also have our charter of freedom, once again in his words, to remember and redeem. It is appropriate that when India and the rest of the world celebrate the poet's 125th birth anniversary, we should again remind ourselves of the poet's dream or his prayer, his ode to freedom.

(Editors)

Dear Patrons : We regret the delay

Please bear with us a little longer. We have almost solved our printing problems and hope to be regular and on time in the near future. Our next issues are already in the press.

—(Editor)

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HOMAGE TO TAGORE

HIS VISION AND MESSAGE

Acknowledging Tagore as a poet and philosopher, Mulk Raj Anand hailed him as a seeker after true and fundamental values of life, in short, of spiritual life. In the words of the younger author and critic:

".....the third aspect of Tagore's genius (was) his search for a new way of life.....throughout his works, one fact dominates the atmosphere that the struggle for a new way of life is eternal, perennial and, on many different planes.....It is primarily always a struggle for new values, the struggle to be human, to be individual....."

".....What is to be done? He continually asks. How are we to live between Asia and Europe? What are to be fundamental values of our civilization? So intense and honest his search for values, which I believe, the third contribution of Rabindranath Tagore, probably the most significant for us immediately, because of the wide varieties of thoughtful suggestions he has made....."

Tagore was always attempting to define "a new set of spiritual values....." which could solve some of the problems confronting the contemporary world or resolve "the intellectual crisis" of the day.

To continue with Mulk Raj Anand's assessment....."His definition of spiritual experience was indeed completely un-conventional. For instance, he regarded much of the materialism of Russian socialism as essentially spiritual in character.....He may be said to be first Indian modern who inclined to the view that a new faith, based on men's creative potencies in art and literature, music, philosophy and science may arise and through that, a new world may be built up for greater and higher accomplishment....."

".....In regard to science he realized fairly early, what we have come to see much later, that it should be regarded as a means and not as an end.....True to the traditions of the old Indian sages, he assimilated the report of the laboratory, but never forgot that the beauty of falling water is not in the formula H_2O , but in the colour, the scene and movement of water. In fact he was a poet of science....."

What better tribute could a writer of Anand's stature give to the departed soul, a poet, philosopher and man of deep understanding of humanity as well as the science of nature?

But more than that, Tagore was a poet of mankind, of a new version of humanism, a poet of the universal man.

"The tendency of his thoughts was.....mainly modern and humanist and he believed that with courage and vision, man could subdue nature, and himself rise sufficiently to his higher aims."

".....He believed with d' Holbach that until social thinking revolutionises ideas and transforms institutions, the common life of society cannot advance....."

".....He crusaded for exchange of knowledge amongst the nations through a new kind of universalism..... (it was through him) that Indian universalism became known to the modern world."

Tagore's ideal lay in the virtue of tolerance, a new kind of sympathy and compassion, once the hallmark or basis of our old humanism in our ancient religious faiths. This gave him his world view and a new voice in the cause of international peace ".....and with a world vision much in advance of his time, he tried to shift the emphasis from national rights to the individual rights and from political to the economic rights, when at a time national rights were being secured, and local struggles being waged in the bulk of the world with an aggressive intensity. He stood for a rough and ready functional association of nations across frontiers.....He was therefore our first real internationalist....." (continued)

Song Offerings 1912

Rabindranath Tagore

GITANJALI (Song Offerings)

with an introduction by W. B. Yeats, first issued in 1912 by the Indian Society, London.

How does it feel to revert to a book, by chance or by design, which was once very popular and which had brought fame not only to its poet-author but also to his country, a book which was published about three quarters of a century ago and was hailed immediately as something out of the ordinary, full of oriental flavour and mystique?

I refer to Rabindranath Tagore's GITANJALI (or Song Offerings) published in the autumn of 1912 by the Indian Society, London, in a limited edition. If there was a single book which caused so much sensation and welcome surprise and gave so much unexpected delight to its readers or brought immediate recognition and fame to its writer, it was GITANJALI. Since then there have been other books causing similar sensations, biographies, novels, collections of poems, crime fictions and war accounts and all, though not on the same grounds. But there has been no other single book on the strength of which alone, its author could win the much coveted and prestigious Nobel Prize in literature. Tagore was bestowed this honour on the merit of this slim volume of 100 and odd poems written originally in Bengali and some set to music composed by the poet himself, but translated under strange circumstances in lyrical English prose, some of them in a quaint rather archaic style, once again his own.

By that time, Tagore had seen 50 summers of a very active, fruitful and creative span of life, during which he had turned out volumes of poetry and other writings, short stories and novels, dramas and operettas in his native Bengali, besides composing music pieces by the hundreds and creating a new (continued)

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HOMAGE TO TAGORE

Recalling the universal message of Tagore, his humanism, his world vision, his commitment to freedom and peace, Mulk Raj added "....." "He was a visionary who believed (in)..... a multi-national civilisation.... He knew as an Indian that in actual fact, several of the potentially freedom-living nations were handicapped by the numerous aggressive nations, built on greed and plunder."So he struggled against imperialists of his day with a resilience that lends to his political thoughts a peculiar realism as well as a visionary quality....."

In his various ways he sought to create real international understanding. He believed in a new kind of education which alone could restore the balance, and create real international understanding.

On his 80th birthday, he delivered a most moving and personal address to the students of his "international university", the **Vishva Bharti**. Though a somewhat bitter and disappointed man, he had not lost his faith in man and spoke from his heart, "..... It is no longer possible for us to retain any respect for that mockery of civilisation which believes in ruling by force and has no faith in freedom at all.

".....Today my one last hope is that the deliverer will be born in this poverty stricken country....."

Will that hope or the poet's vision of a world of peace, freedom and equality be ever fulfilled? When? How? May we leave these questions with our readers in this month of August, the month of our freedom! Also the month when the poet's mortal voice went silent never to speak again in the physical sense, though the message of his songs lives on!

(B. Hooja)

Song Offerings 1912 (continued)

tradition or movement in the theatre arts. Later he filled hundreds of sketch-papers and canvasses with drawings, sketches and paintings but, in spite of these many-sided accomplishments, world-wide recognition came to him first through this translated compilation of lyrics

There is an interesting story about how this came about. It so happened that, after many years of creative work as well as managing his family estates and having lived through many years of personal joys and sorrows, Rabindranath was feeling a bit out of sorts and very much wanted to have a change of climate or environment, so to say. He booked his passage for a sea journey to England with his son and daughter-in-law, where he had been twice many years ago, an eager young man. But somehow at the last minute he had to postpone his departure.

Perhaps to overcome this frustration and to while away his time, he casually started translating some of his recent Bengali poems (about 50 out of 157 plus 17 selected from **Giti-malya**) 103 in all into English in an ordinary copy-book. These he later carried with him to London, when the voyage finally materialised.

In London, he called on the art lover William Rothenstein who had visited Calcutta earlier and was familiar with the works and personalities of some of the other illustrious members of the Tagore family and of the Bengal renaissance. As Rothenstein has recorded, he reacted most warmly to the poet's renderings of his original composition. "Here was poetry of a new order which seemed to me on a level with that of the great mystics. It looked as though we have at least a great poet among us again."

Moved by the lyrical quality and mystic content of these prose-poems, Rothenstein passed on the note-book to the well-known Irish poet, W. B. Yeats, who was also deeply touched and literally carried away by the experience. Introducing the first edition of the **Gitanjali**, he has mentioned how he had carried the manuscript with him for many days, reading the poems in railway trains or on top of the omni-buses and in restaurants. So moved was he, so deeply involved. On 30th June, Yeats was to read out some of the poems to a select gathering of writers at the residence of Rothenstein, where Tagore met for the first time C. F. Andrews who later became a life-long friend of the poet and of India.

Recalling that evening, C. F. Andrews later wrote "I walked back along the side of Hampstead Heath. I wanted to be alone and think in silence of the wonder and glory of it all. The night was cloudless and there was something of the purple of the Indian atmosphere about the sky. There, all alone, I could think the wonder of it....." And he went on to quote a few lines from Tagore's poetry which he had heard that summer evening:

*On the seashore of endless worlds
children meet*

*On the seashore of endless worlds
is the great meeting of children*

No doubt, it is a moving poem, full of deep meaning, and the poet's concern with the world at large, with children and with nature. Between the first and last lines of this prose poem with a repetitive refrain about the children meeting, playing or gathering pebbles or engaged in their innocent games and playing without greed, without fear, the poet has said a lot!

YEATS WROTE

As Yeats wrote in his introduction to **Gitanjali**. "These lyrics, which are in the original, as my Indian friends tell me, full of subtlety, of rhythm, of untranslatable delicacies of colour, of metrical invention, display in their thoughts a world I have

(continued)

Song Offerings 1912 (continued)

dreamed of all my life long. The work of a supreme culture, they yet appear as much the growth of common soil as the grass and the bushes. A tradition, where poetry and religion are the same thing, has passed through the centuries, gathering from learned and unlearned metaphor and emotion, and carried back again to the multitude the, thought of the scholar and of the noble....."

Yeats also noted that Tagore had written music for his words and commented, "He is so abundant, so spontaneous and so daring in his passion, so full of surprise, because he is doing something which has never been strange, un-natural or in need of defence". He further observed, rather prophesied that, "In time to come, these songs will be hummed by the travellers on the high-ways or men rowing their boats upon the rivers, while lovers waiting for each other will continue to murmur these songs".

He knew instinctively that the collection of poems would not just decorate ladies tables in their drawing rooms, nor be carried by university students to be put aside as their studies were over, because as Yeats expressed it, in this work, "A whole people, a whole civilization, immeasurably strange to us seems to have been taken up into this imagination.....". Such was their charming and bewitching appeal, that it gave a sensitive poet like Yeats the feeling as if "we have met our own image, as though we had walked in Rossett's willow wood, or heard, perhaps for first time, our voice as in a dream."

AND EZRA POUND

Reviewing the book soon after its publication, another outstanding poet, Ezra Pound, was to acknowledge, ".....We have found our new Greece, suddenly. As the sense of balance came upon Europe in the days before the Renaissance, so it seems to me, does this sense of a saner stillness come now to us in the midst of our clangour of mechanisms..... There is in him the still-

ness of nature.....He is at one with nature, and finds no contradictions. And this is in sharp contrast with the Western mode, where man must be shown attempting to master nature, if we are to have 'great drama'. It is in contrast to the Hellenic representation of man, the sport of gods, and both in the grip of destiny..... When I leave Mr. Tagore, I feel exactly as if I were a barbarian clothed in skins, and carrying a stone war-club.

"I find in these poems a sort of ultimate common sense, a reminder of one thing and of forty things which we are ever likely to lose sight of in the confusion of our Western life, in the racket of our cities, in the jabber of manufactured literature, in the vortex of advertisement....." In his words, it was "the common sense in the first part of the New Testament, the same happiness in some of the psalms....." "The poems had a disadvantage also, in that 'they are too pious' but as Pound stressed, 'their piety was poetic....and very beautiful'".

That the collection when it appeared, did represent something new, strange yet natural arising from the mystic springs of the East, was perhaps the best quality of *Gitanjali*, the cause for its widespread appreciation.

Let us not forget that England and Europe of those days, apart from the burdens of mechanisation were almost on the brink of an unimagined or un-precedented catastrophe in the shape of the world war, which soon engulfed almost the entire civilized world. The philosophy and the hustling bustling European ways of life based on materialism or the prevailing concepts of "imperial glory" seemed to have lost their magic hold on the minds of contemporary men and women. There was growing disillusionment all round. Yet here was a new voice quite different, singing new songs of wonder, hope and joy, through a poet's mysterious communion with the eternal spirit pervading the entire living earth. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the literary circles in England, U. S. A. and Europe were almost swept off their feet.

In the assessment of the critic of the *Times Literary Supplement*..... "they are not the curiosities of an alien mind," but were "prophetic of the poetry that might be written in England, if our poets could attain to the same harmony of emotion and idea. That divorce of religion and philosophy which prevails among us is a sign of our failure in both....What is our philosophy? We are very restless in thought, but we have none that poets can express."

OTHER CRITICS

Yet there were others who did not come under this mystical oriental spell of the poet, of his beautiful piety or his biblical common-sense. For example, the critic of *New Age* claimed "Any of us could write such stuff *ad libitum*", but it should not be taken as "good English, good poetry, good sense or good ethics."

There were others who were more patronising, almost condescending, or even sharing the satisfaction that the long British association with India had eventually produced a 'civilised man,' a poet of repute. The overall reaction, however, was full of praise and appreciation.

Our forefathers, Tagore's contemporaries in this slave country also enjoyed and partook the euphoria. They also basked in the poet's reflected glory. For once the mysterious but ancient East or a slave nation with its long lost glory had renewed and vindicated itself through the person and creative work of a living poet, who had become a legend in his own time.

I would have liked to offer some personal comments as to how it has felt to read *Gitanjali* so long after it was first published. Perhaps another time. But I must confirm that mellowed with age and experience, I did find my mind responding to the distant echoes of these songs and occasionally singing in tune.

—Bhupendra Hooja

Please check up, Your subscription may soon be due for renewal.

August 1986

Indian Book Chronicle

Exploring A Road to Early History

A. H. Dani

CHILAS : The City of Nanga Parvat (Dayamar)

Published by Professor Ahmad Hasan Dani, Director, Centre for the Study of the Civilisation of Central Asia, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, (1983) p.p. 251 price u.s. Dollars 15.00 (Illustrated with 12 colour plates and 195 black and white photographs and two maps.)

Reviewed by Devahuti

The construction of the Karakoram Highway (1959-1978) from Batagram (well north of Mansehra) to the Khunjab Pass and beyond by the governments of Pakistan and China has not only provided a road link between the two countries from Islamabad to Yarkand, it has also opened the way for cultural investigations, specially in the hitherto unexplored areas inside the great knee-bend of the Indus river east of the gorges. After brief preliminary reconnaissance visits over the years, a Pak-German team led by professor A. H. Dani and Prof. Karl Jettmar carried out extensive archaeological explorations in the area in the early eighties, bringing to light new materials which almost created a sensation.

The sites investigated are in Hunzaland (Haldeikish) and along the Indus. These are, roughly west to east, Shatial, Darel Valley, Thor, Hodur, Chilas and Thalpan. Chilas is a district as well as a city in the shadow of the majestic Dyamar, (or *Deva-Meru*, the heavenly mountain) unimaginatively called Nanga Parbat in the 19th century. The book under review is named after this ancient site.

PRE-HISTORIC AND LATER SITES

We can make a brief survey of the people who visited or inhabited the area on the basis of the archaeological finds of the team. The Darel Valley (from *dvara* or *dar* entrance) was penetrated at least in the first millennium B. C. by a people who are identified by their red-ware urns

used for cremated burials. Evidence of some old *kots*, i. e. fortified towns has also been found at Ghomari, Mankyal, etc. in the Darel valley.

The historical finds from the 1st century B. C. until about 8th century A. D., sometimes even later, are classified by Dani into three groups. The **first** group covering the period 1st century B. C. to 2nd century A. D. is distinguished by *kharoshthi* inscription in the Scythian or in the Kushana style. However, later drawings made on or beside earlier carvings also occur in this stratum. The **second** group datable between 2nd to 5th century A. D., belongs to the post-Kushana period and is not associated with any writing. The **third** group is assigned to the period between 6th to 8th centuries, and is characterised by late *Brahmi* inscriptions.

SCYTHIAN, PARATHIANS AND KUSHANAS

The names of the earliest rulers belonging to 1st century B. C. that have come down to us from Chilas II and Thor, are those of Gopadasa and his two sons. We also find a name Magulaputrasa.

A carving of three animals nearby is revealing. Two of them are ibexes in the local style; the third is more like a Scythian prancing horse, if the curved horns on the head are excepted. The Scythian conquerors were on the way.

At Thor, a person inscribed as Gopadasa, no doubt the same as from Chilas II, is shown being dragged by soldiers in Scythian dress

into the presence of a seated person described as Moga Raja i. e. Maues. These Scythians migrated from across the Pamir through northerly passes by a direct route. However, their Gandhara style *stupa* carvings bespeak of their connection with Gandhara.

Two inscriptions from Chilas II give the names of the two *Kshatrapas* (governors) of Maues as Ghoshamitra, son of Kaka and Sidhalaka. Maues bears the title *Mahataka*.

The same Flat Rock (in recess no. 3) at Chilas II which records the name of Kaka also has three deities inscribed on it. They are described as Bodhisattva, Baladebo and Vasudebo. The latter two appear again on the western face of the same rock and are described as Rama, (Balarama) and Krishna. (*Please see the post-script to this note.*) The western face of a rock in recess no. 2 has a standing proto-Siva along with the inscription *Sevasa*.

The Scythian rule continued for quite some time as is evident from the style of the large number of inscriptions and *stupas* engraved at Chilas.

The next rulers were the Parthians. A *Kharoshthi* inscription (Dani 46) at Chilas reads *Vitaspa Priyati Gendavharasa Raja* obviously commemorating Gondophares. Thalpan II has several carvings of soldiers and others in Parthian dress and many animals, including a horned beast with a bent leg in the typical Achaemenian style.

Next we meet the Kushans who appear to have advanced very early in this region. A Kushan style *Kharoshthi* inscription from Chilas X (Dani 53) has a clear reading *Uvimadasakase* i. e. Vima Kadapheses. More often, however, Kushan names occur at the Sacred Rock of Hunza.

An inscription at Chilas II (Dani 89) carries full royal titles, namely *Kaisarasa Rajatirajasa* and *Devadevasa* for Vasishk or Vajheshka whose name is read here as Jhaskasa. In the Ara inscription (*Sten Konow, C. I. I, Vol II Kharoshthi Inscriptions, Calcutta, P. 155*) Kanishka II bears the same titles. (*continued*)

CHILAS— (continued)

Chilas does not have any Buddhist sculptures in the Gandhara style, although there is ample evidence of the practice of Buddhism here.

The movement of people between the period of Kushan rule and the *Kharoshthi* inscriptions on the one hand, and of *Brahmi* inscriptions of the fifth century A. D. on the other, is not very clear. An *Aramaic* inscription from Chilas IX, two Sogdian inscriptions from Ziarat II and Khomar respectively, and several *Sogdian* inscriptions along with some *Kharoshthi* inscriptions of a later date from Shatial, all fill the gap in a rather uncertain manner. The elaborate *stupa* on the rock at Shatial has the *Sivi Jataka* inscribed next to it. The main dedicatory inscription on this rock mentions several names which appear to be of Central Asian and of Saka origin.

TRIBAL REPUBLICS PRECEDE KINGS

However, no *Kharoshthi* inscriptions are met with in this region. We now find *Brahmi* inscriptions of 5th century A. D. Some of the names we come across in them are Innadila, Bhadila, Sarmana, Durmala, Sri Sataka, etc. inserted in spaces in and around the elaborate *stupa*, but Bhadila also from inscriptions at Thor and Khomar. A very significant inscription from Shatial (Dani 40) is that of *Khasaraja-gana*, probably a tribal republic of the *Khasa* people of the north-west. It is not possible to determine the exact area occupied by these people, but it appears to have been extensive.

The Shatial inscription appears to contain the names of the tribal *rajas*. (pp 58–59) In the same 5th century A. D. *Brahmi* script, we get the name of a city, Vira Somongara from Thalpan bridge (Somonagara of Soniwal Payin near Chilas). The names of several individuals are available from several boulders in Chilas, but none of kings, probably because of the supremacy of the *Khasa* republic at that time.

From the 6th century A. D. onwards, however, we get names with

royal titles. Two rocks from Soniwal Payin near Chilas reveal the names of six kings of a *Sena* dynasty, of whom the most important was the last but one, Vaisravana-sena, with the titles *Sakrabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja*, and *Satru-damana*. His minister, commander-in-chief and teacher (Rudra-Sri) are also mentioned by name. The latter most was established (*pratishthitah*) in the *Silavata vishaya* (Chilas).

(Note: The Kushan period saw the emergence of a composite deity centred on Vaisravana. The synthesis of the Iranian *xvardnah* or *Pharo*, the embodiment of the 'kingly glory' and the Indian god of wealth, *Panchika-Kuvera-Vaisravana* occurred in Buddhist Central Asia. Arising from that the Japanese *Tobatsu Bishamon* also symbolises divine king or world conqueror. The *Saiva-Bhagavata-Baudha* synthesis which expressed itself through art forms in the upper Indus Valley is also evident from the use of the name Vaisravana-sena and the titles attached to it by an important royal personage with a six-member long genealogy.)

Did Vaisravana-sena assert himself after the fall of the Hunas, towards the latter half of sixth century A. D. ? They were ruling in this area at the time of Sung-yun's visit about A. D. 520. We know no more about these *Sena* kings.

Next we come across the names of two kings Simha-de (va) and Amara-Simha at Chilas II, V and VIII, and Chilas VII respectively, in *Brahmi* inscriptions of early seventh century.

LATE HUNA CONNECTIONS

A people called the *Kritiyas* (from *krita*, bought for serving Buddhist priests) with their own religious beliefs and later antagonistic to Buddhism appear several times in Hsuan-tsang's account of Kashmir. (*Beal I, p. 150, 156-58*). Dani think (at pp 80-81) that they could be the same local hunting people who became prominent in the Chilas area after the fall of the Kushanas.

As an animal was an important feature of their religion, Dani would

further like to connect a goat representation, *Vahadeva* at Chilas V (no. 62) and *Vahi* on the Sacred Rock of Hunza with these people. (Note:—Ancient ritual and environment were closely connected in establishing a relationship among humans, forces of nature and animals. As a Tibetan source says about the origin of *bsa-nga* (ritual) : "For its father, it had the great thunder ringing in the sky. For mother, it had the great lightening running over the earth. Their son, a wild horse, is the glacier's essence, is the ocean's water bubble, is the turquoise lake Map-ham's (*Mansarovara*) foam, is the best medicine's power.")

The ruler of Himatala who, according to Hsuan-tsang, killed the king of the *Kritiyas* and resettled the Buddhist priests may have been a Huna. (*Atreyi Biswas, The Political History of the Huns in India* Delhi, 1973, p. 34; *Upendra Thakur, The Hunas in India*, Varanasi, 1976, p. 78.)

Dani sees a late Huna connection with a people known for their cremation burial, love of and skill with horses, use of a curved type of sword, but above all for their battle axe which may be considered their fetish, as the ibex was of the Hunza people. They dominated not only Chilas, but the entire area from *cir.* A. D. 8th century.

A connection is also suggested between them and the present-day local Shina of the land-holding class. It is not without significance that battle axes were used for ceremonial purposes on special occasions such as marriages, until recently in the area.

SAHIS

To continue the ethno-political history of the region, the Huna rulers of the Indus valley like the Kushanas assumed the title *Sahi*. In addition to a *Sahi Vajrasura* and his two sons, some more Sanskrit names, but also a large number of non-Sanskrit names, e. g. Gikisla, Thotiputra, Thahukha, Pasthi Pilvi Simi, Chhakachha, etc. occur in 9th–10th centuries A. D. very late *Brahmi* (almost proto-nagari)

(continued over-leaf)

on boulders at Chilas I between the Karakoram Highway and the Indus river. Their names, their disregard for the *stupa*, and association with temples having *trisula* emblem, also with *chakra* and battle axe, a fan-shaped *parasu*, excellence in horsemanship and sword-play, representation of the tiger with a front leg raised in the Iranian style suggest to Dani, their relationship with Hunas.

The hypothesis receives support from the fact that some of the personal names on the above-mentioned boulders are still preserved among the present-day Shina people whose tribal name may after all be another version of Hsiung-nu, Chinese Huna.

HISTORICAL CONTINUITY

A late carving of a temple crowned with a *trisula* on the Gondophares rock and names of the Chilas I type such as Tacchara, Mahata, Kapaka Hakaka, etc. in 14th or 15th centuries A. D. writing on a nearby boulder, a Chilas VI carving of a horse-rider carrying a *chakra* and other dotted symbols in hand before a temple (Dani 68) all seem to point to a connection between the last of the Hunas and the present-day Shina. The mounted horsemen and their battle axes appear all over this area on rocks found right through Gilgit to Hunza and even beyond, just as Hunza's fetish, the ibex is found at Chilas. Thus, there are strong reasons to feel that there is a direct continuity in the history of Chilas from 8th century to the present times.

We are fortunate to have this book on Chilas from the pen of an accomplished and experienced scholar-archaeologist of the calibre of Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani. In addition to approximately 150 pages of the text, the book contains 12 colour plates and 195 black and white photographs, which are necessary and useful for a correct appreciation of the culture that prevailed in the area for almost a millennium and a half. Written in a simple language, it is an inspiring account of what would, on doubt, be regarded as epoch-making finds of the century. To make it available to

many readers at a low cost, we need a paper-back edition of the book, perhaps by a government-sponsored agency.

POSTSCRIPT—

In our forthcoming book **India and Central Asia**, we have suggested links between the *Okunoid* tradition, the Celtic god *Cernunos* and the *proto-Siva* phase in India. The presence of the *Saiva* pantheon in Central Asia such as at Penjikent, Khotan and in Chinese Turkistan is also attested.

The earliest beginnings of Vasudeva worship are pre-Paninian as is evident from a reference in the *Ashtadhyayi* (IV. 3. 987) of 6th century B. C. In the 4th century B. C., Megasthenes described the divine hero of the Mathura region as Heracles. The 2nd century B. C. coin of Agathocles from Ai Khanum on the Afghan-Russian border depicts figures, no doubt identifiable with Samkarshana and Vasudeva. Next we have the evidence from Chilas as referred to in this paper. The worship of the Vrishni heroes was popular over a vast area until at least 4th century A. D., as proved by the inscriptions from Ghosundi (Rajasthan), Nanaghat (Maharashtra), Mathura (Uttar Pradesh) and Kondamotu (Andhra).

The Bhagavata cult of the times, thus, may be described more precisely as the adoration of the Panchavira of the Vrishni clan. They were Vasudeva, who was at the centre of the cult, his elder brother Samkarshana or Balarama, his two sons Pradyumna and Samba, and his grandson Aniruddha. The plough and the club, discus, conch shell and lotus buds, and the *tala*-and *Garudadhvaj*s often appear in association with the two elder brothers.

Whether they were Bauddha, Saiva, or Bhagavata, people appear to have respected, if not actually honoured, each other's beliefs, as is apparent from the specific representations of the three faiths on the same rocks from the same strata.

The *stupa* and the temple forms are strikingly similar except the emblems on the finials. (See *stupa* at

Thalpan III, Dani no. 111, description pp. 146-48, and temple at Thalpan III, Dani no. 184, description p. 225.) The *stupa* has seven umbrellas and a crescent and circle for its finial. The temple, five umbrellas and a *sikhara* outline and trident in one case; two umbrellas and a *kalasa* and trident in the other.

A two line inscription from Thalpan III carries the name of both Vasudeva and Mahesvara and has, beside it, a horned *lingam* and *chakra*. (Dani on 177, description p. 220).

Another inscription from the same site (Dani no. 179, description p. 222) has three names besides two tridents on alters. They are Narayansa Svami, the lord Narayana, along one alter, and Rudragupta and Chakradasa beside the other. These names, although suggestive of different religious affiliations, yet are part of the same donation. Moreover, the *trisulas* have, instead of prongs, something like lotus buds, indicative of the mingling of Saiva and Bhagavata faiths. But with the appearance of the 'battle axe or horse people' from the 8th century A. D., there appears a disregard for the existing faith.

Dr. Devahuti of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, wrote this review specially for the IBC to introduce this "very interesting material" to our readers in general and, fellow historians in particular. The book was not received by us. As she has mentioned in the post-script, she is writing about India and early Central Asia these days and has referred to Dani's work in the same connection.

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August 1986

Indian Book Chronicle

A Search For Identity

S. R. Chakravarty and Virendra Narain, (Editors)

BANGLADESH : Volume One. History and Culture,

South Asian Publishers, New Delhi (1986), Pages xvi+220, price Rs. 100.00.

A Short Comment :—

This is the twelfth book in the series on South Asia Studies. The 13 articles in the volume are mostly the result of a seminar on the "Society and Politics in Bangladesh" held in March 1981 at the South Asia Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan. There are a few subsequent contributions also. Though delayed in publication, the contributions have considerable relevance even today. Perhaps more so. Their stress seems to be on current developments or recent socio-cultural trends and problems, though some movements or developments since the 19th century have also been included. As regards the historical or cultural past, there is not much material except for some stray pieces such as Bengal's Conversion to Islam or Sufism or Islamic Trends etc in that part of the sub-continent. The emphasis is more on topical matters of immediate concern such as the Language Movement or Hindu-Muslim Relations in Rural Bangladesh or the Problems of National Identity (*Vis-a-Vis* Pakistan) or the Elite Conflict in Muslim Politics, and so on. Thus, the sub-title "History and Culture" appears to be somewhat out of place, unless we accept the premise that in Bangladesh, history or culture began only in recent times.

(B. H.)

Reviewed by Shekhar Bandyopadhyay

The development of a Bengali muslim identity during the British colonial period ultimately resulted in the emergence of an independent Bangladesh in the eastern part of what was once the British Indian empire. The articulation of the religious identity in the first half of the twentieth century had motivated the Bengali Muslims to support the Pakistan movement, which separated them in 1947 from the greater Bengali-speaking population of undivided Bengal. But soon, in the new state of Pakistan the uneasy alliance between the East and the West, based on the only common bond of religion, began to falter.

Bengali nationalism overshadowed the Islamic identity of the East Pakistanis—the result was the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971. The collection of essays under review traces the origins and development of these two elements of Bangladeshi national identity over a long per-

iod of time. It brings out their relative importance at different stages of history and discusses how their mutual conflict has led to a crisis of national consensus in independent Bangladesh.

THE MAKING OF A COMMUNITY

The first essay in this collection by Abdul Momin Chowdhury is concerned with the emergence of a Muslim community in Bengal and seeks to explain it in terms of large scale conversions during the period of Muslim political domination. But this took place, according to him, from the ranks of the Buddhists and not the untouchables among the Hindus, who were psychologically unprepared to shake off the tyranny of a rigid caste system. This contention goes against the overwhelming historical evidence that indicates lower caste conversions in Bengal, both before

and during the British colonial period, and the fact that the libertarian doctrines of *Bhakti* and later *Gaudiya Vaishnavism* had found wide acceptance among these sections of the Hindu population.

But if the Hindu-Buddhist rivalry and the tyrannical nature of the Hindu social structure had prepared a congenial ground for the spread of Islam, it was the *Sufis* of medieval Bengal who made it popular among the common people. While the 'warrior *Sufis*' as Mafizullah Kabir has shown quite competently, helped the Turkish Sultans to conquer the inaccessible regions of Bengal in the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, the 'reforming *Sufis*' began to spread the faith among the common people after the political conditions settled down in the second half of the fourteenth century. Till about the end of the sixteenth century, the *Sufis* kept on coming into Bengal, and through their *Khanqahs*, the common people received both spiritual guidance and material assistance in times of distress. The process of expansion of the Muslim community in Bengal also continued well into the British colonial period, when the first census of 1872 revealed that they constituted about 48 per cent of the population of Bengal proper, which was traditionally believed to be a Hindu region.

POLITICS OF THE ELITE

But the religious identity of the community was politically articulated only in the first half of twentieth century by its elite leaders who were primarily pursuing their own individual or group interests. Rangalal Sen's essay on Muslim elite politics, perhaps the most well-researched piece in the whole collection, shows how the two conflicting interests of "Bengali regionalism" and "Muslim nationalism" fought bitter battles between the years 1937 and 1947. Ultimately, the latter prevailed over the former through (a) the Lahore Resolution (23 March 1940) of the All India Muslim League that formed the basis for the establishment

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of Pakistan (b) the provincial elections of 1946 in which both the Muslim masses and the middle classes rallied round the Pakistan demand and finally (c) the Delhi Convention of 9 April 1946, which amended the Lahore Resolution by demanding a single independent state of Pakistan instead of more than one Muslim majority independent states, which would perhaps have suited the Bengali Muslims better. The conservative Muslim Leaguers of Bengal, encouraged by leaders like Jinnah and the British ruling elite, thus scored a victory over the secular elements, but as history suggests, could not totally destroy them.

It is true that this separatist Muslim politics had its mass base too. A. F. Salahuddin Ahmed, in his rather brief and somewhat idealised survey of the historical background of the emergence of Bangladesh, has traced the formation of a *separate cultural identity* of the Bengali Muslims since the nineteenth century, both due to the exclusive nature of Islam and the Hindu exclusiveness and conservatism. But this consciousness of a socio-cultural separation was politically manipulated by the elites in order to safeguard their group interests against a Hindu domination. The movement for Pakistan, thinks Ahmed, "was political and not religious", though the 'West Pakistani' leadership continued to harp on religion to fortify their own position. But soon, the inner contradictions of the Muslim leadership came to the forefront and the eastern elites began to find their interests threatened. Bengali nationalism now began to overshadow Islamic consciousness, resulting in the liberation struggle.

**FOR AUTONOMY IN
LANGUAGE & CULTURE**

Within less than a decade of the establishment of Pakistan, as Golam Morshed tells us, the eastern leaders had begun to demand provincial autonomy as envisaged in the Lahore Resolution and started articulating the Bengali nationalism. The main symbol of western domi-

nation over East Pakistan was the imposition of the *Islamic* language Urdu over the 'regional' language Bengali, though it was spoken by the numerically largest community in the country. Language issue thus became the main focus of Bengali nationalism that arose as a protest against near-colonial exploitation of East Pakistan by the western vested interests. The language movement of 1952, which demanded the recognition of Bengali as a state language, and the provincial election of 1954, in which the opposition parties with their 21-point programme and plea for provincial autonomy won impressive victories against the Muslim League frantically using *Islamic* slogans, decisively showed the way East Pakistan was going.

Rafiqul Islam's sketchy history of the language movement shows that it began right from 1948, developed through the tumultuous days of February 1952, and the repressive atmosphere of the Ayub regime since 1958 (when there was a novel attempt to create a new 'common language' through an admixture of Urdu and Bengali) and culminated in the Constitution of 1972; which recognised the "unity and solidarity of the Bengali nation" based on a common language and common culture.

This Bengali nationalism had manifold ramifications and expressions. As Md. Majir-uddin Mian's essay shows, it got reflected through a veneration of Tagore in direct reaction to the attempts of the Pakistani critics to denigrate him as anti-Muslim. It also expressed itself through the literature of the period. S. R. Chakravarty's brief survey of the Bengali literature of East Pakistan is an attempt to understand this changing political mood of the nation. It shows that while secularism and nationalism had been the two dominant trends of East Bengali literature of this period, communalism had never been completely eliminated at any point of time. The essay, however, does not attempt to explain this contradiction in East Pakistani society, which this literature reflected, though it was precisely this very contradiction that created

the major problem of national consensus in post-independence Bangladesh.

**ISLAMISATION VS
SECULARISM**

K. M. Mohsin's essay, though a little impressionistic, shows that the Awami League, previously Awami Muslim League, in spite of its opposition to the Muslim League's policy of *Islamisation*, could not completely ignore Islam as a factor in the country's politics. And though the Constitution of 1972 had established secularism as a fundamental principle of state policy, secularism as a social attitude was yet to take firm roots. When the promise of a better life in independent Bangladesh began to falter, religious sentiments were whipped up to mobilize support against the government.

The next administration finally put the clock back by repositing its absolute faith in the communal ethos and the *Islamic* content of Bangladeshi national identity was again revitalized through a number of state-patronised socio-religious institutions. It was done partly as a means of political mobilization and partly to curry favour with the oil rich Muslim countries. The result, as we find to-day, was a revival of Islamic fundamentalism, though Mohsin thinks that the country has been moving towards "liberal Islam" an ambiguous concept never fully explained in the present essay. But one thing becomes clear, that secularism was gone.

SEARCH FOR CONSENSUS

The essay by Talukdar Maniruz-zaman, who claims for himself "depth, insight and imagination" (p. 44) argues that secularism of the Mujib regime was in itself a "self-defeating" concept. First of all, because the policies pursued during this period were not fully secular and instead of de-emphasizing religion altogether, they sought to patronise all the religions, and thus encouraged the development of "a multi-theocracy". But what is most important is that it

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has proposed a dangerous thesis, that secularism is unworkable in the cultural atmosphere of the sub-continent, where society is inherently Religious. It was mainly due to a Muslim backlash, he argues, to the Awami League's insensitivity towards the religious sentiments of the people, that there was a revival of Islamic fundamentalism in Bangladesh. To this may be added the ruling elite's perception of insecurity due to the encirclement of the country by India and the lure of petro-dollars. But ultimately, argues Maniruzzaman, it was a coalition of the majority of the people who were middle-roads but wanted to have Islam as one of their core values, and the "smaller groups of traditional, modernist and fundamentalist Islamists" who provided the main power base for the regimes of Ziaur-Rahman and Abdus Sattar. And it was during this regime that the country started moving towards a broad ideological consensus" based on a "synthesis of Islam and secularism". (p. 73)

**CROSS-COMMUNITY
INTER-ACTION**

But what Talukdar Maniruzzaman fails to see is that certain policies on secularism, faultily practised by a particular regime or distorted by another, do not disprove the wisdom of secularism as a concept or its applicability to the sub-continent's social situation. And this is amply proved by Profulla C. Sarkar's essay. It is based on field research in an unknown "research area" in Bangladesh, in an unspecified time span. But it shows the existence of cordial relationship and free cross-community interaction between the Hindus and the Muslims at every level of social existence. However, communal exclusivism, based on a vague sense of superiority, also remains at a subterranean level, sometimes coming up to the surface to show its ugly face. But this, an efficient secular state machinery can keep effectively in check. While forced integration may lead to problems, as Hayat Hussain's study on the Chittagong hill tribes shows, sympathetic and balanced policies can lead to the emergence of a Bangladeshi national

identity on secular and nationalist lines, cutting across communal and ethnic barriers.

The prime need of Bangladesh at the present moment, as Makhdum-E-Mulk Mushrafi's theoretical essay on the problem of consensus on national identity argues, is to evolve a philosophy that would balance and accommodate both the elements of religion and language, by putting more emphasis on the material issues confronting the society.

The collection of essays, which is the outcome of a seminar, provides a good introduction to the most important question of national identity of one of our important neighbours. The two editors and the South Asia Studies Centre of the University of Rajasthan, which sponsored the seminar, therefore duly deserve our sincere thanks. But this very introduction also suggests that there is need for much more serious research on the complex process of evolution of this new nation in our sub-continent.

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay works at the Centre for South & Southeast Asian Studies, Calcutta University.

Four Short Reviews,

by P. C. Mathur

G Parthasarathi (General Editor)**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : Letters to Chief Ministers (1947-64) Volume 1 (1947-1949)***Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, New Delhi (1985) through Oxford University Press pp. 547. Rs. 150.*

Students of public affairs in India (covering the dimension of "foreign policy" as well as "domestic politics") should be grateful to the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund for initiating a project to make available a well edited compilation of the fortnightly letters which Jawaharlal Nehru addressed to the State level chief executives during the seventeen years of his stewardship of the nation. These were crucial years for all of us in India and also for the world at large. As the general editor, G. Parthasarathi, points out, these

letters had a much wider circulation amongst India's newly emerging power-elite as well as the policy-elite who could thus get many a vivid glimpse of the mind of India's first Prime Minister, as the new state was striving to grapple with important problems and challenges facing one of the most populous countries in the world, in the wake of its freedom.

**OPEN DIALOGUE—
NEHRU STYLE**

Independence and the status of a Republic had been acquired (as

Rajiv Gandhi, Jawaharlal's grandson and currently India's Prime Minister, points out) after a long-drawn freedom movement which became "the world's largest democratic movement" on account of the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru to maintain "a constant dialogue between the leaders and the people". Thus, in a manner of speaking, Nehru as Prime Minister, was carrying on this tradition of constant and open 'dialogue' with the people through their chosen representatives at the helm of local state-level affairs and with his colleagues, in the changed circumstances when the hard-won freedom had to be preserved and the new institutions to be laid out on sound foundations.

The publication of these 64 letters (including 19 special letters) written by Prime Minister Nehru
(continued over-leaf)

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during the period August 15, 1947, (the first letter is actually dated October 15, 1947) and December 31, 1949, is thus timely and the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund deserves our special thanks for entrusting the task of the production and distribution of this valuable source of reference to the competent hands of O. U. P. Otherwise, the material would have remained available only to a selected few on a very privileged mailing list.

Amongst the galaxy of modern nation-builders, Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the select few who think as they act, and act as they think, making him almost unique among statesmen who, as rule, tend to equate secrecy with efficiency. As such, the publication of these 'fortnightlies' with a built-in optimality or potentiality of circulation (looking to the size of the compilation and wealth of data, its price should suit the personal pockets of serious data analysts and it is well below what research libraries often pay for much less worthwhile acquisitions) is a good augury for open-ness in public affairs.

One hopes that the Government of India would be equally supportive of possible projects to edit and publish the 'fortnightlies' or responses and reports emanating from the State capitals to India's first Prime Minister. Their letters may not have been as intellectually sophisticated or stimulating as Nehru's elegant epistles were, but their contents would at least show as to what extent Nehru's messages were being appreciated or absorbed throughout the length and breadth of a country teeming with problems of resurgence and reconstruction amidst wide-spread illitracy, poverty and social tensions, even threats to its security.

Since the general editor has taken care to exclude some so-called 'secret' letters from the purview of this enterprise (though at the time of writing and communication all these letters were confidential and were generally kept secret) the published material certainly cannot be expected to make sensational disclosures.

But all students of contemporary Indian history, politics and economics would find many a precious nugget of information, including information which is not mentioned in any known publication, even though it has all the ear-marks of being widely known. One such example should suffice. How many text books or analytical studies of Indian economic planning by the specialists or insiders refer to Dr. S. A. Trone, an American engineer, whose reports seem to have played a decisive role in shaping Jawaharlal Nehru's mind, (*vide* letters dated September 16, 1949, December 1, 1949, and December 15, 1949), with regard to the nature and powers of the then contemplated planning authority?

There was similar brief mention of this book in the Jan- February Issue of IBC Vol XI No. 1 & 2

K. C. Markandan

**CENTRE STATE RELATIONS :
The Perspective**

*ABS Publications, Jalandhar
(1986) pp ii + 256. Rs. 200.00*

In what amounts to be a memorandum for the perusal of the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State Relations, the author, a well-known academic scholar of constitutional law in India, has expounded a bold, clear and well-argued brief that "the Constitution as it has been finally adopted is neither federal nor is it intended to be" (p. 8).

It is certainly rare to find political science teachers coming out with such 'one-handed' pronouncements. (Prof. Galbraith has been bemoaning the dearth of one-handed economists !) But the erudite professor has taken care to append over 80 pages of documentary material in a book running into 256 pages, and even the main text is liberally sprinkled with quotes from the debates of the Constituent Assembly and other relevant reports and documents.

India's political rulers ranging from Asoka to Allauddin Khilji and

Akbar to Aurangzeb did certainly entertain *chakravarti* ambitions, but one wonders whether the founders and followers of the Indian National Congress also subscribed to such a strong view almost an over-riding obsession with a monolithic centripetal political system so as to warrant the author's assertion that, "For all practical purposes, the Centre/Union is the repository of all powers and the constituent units derive their powers from the Centre through a process of decentralization" (p. 169). Further, in the same vein, ".....once... the States realize the fact that they are not autonomous units, but are the creation of the Centre and vested with powers for administrative convenience, the sense of deprivation would not be there at all". (p. 169).

Verv well said, Sir ! But if the States are the creation of the Centre, who created the Centre ? Or is it a *Svayambhu* of Hindu metaphysics ?

**AN EDUCATIONAL SURVEY
REPORT : S. Shamim Shah**

**MUSLIM-MANAGED SCHOOLS
AND COLLEGES IN INDIA**

(with special emphasis on science education).

*Hamdard Education Society, New Delhi (1982-83) pp. xxiv + 226
(Paperback) price not mentioned.*

The Hamdard National Foundation (HNF) and its (Hamdard) Education Society deserve grateful thanks of all well-wishers of the Indian muslim community for having sponsored this "educational survey" regarding the state of schools and colleges managed by the community. The term "Muslim-managed institutions" is nowhere defined, but a list of 590 schools and 70 colleges was drawn up with the help of NCERT, New Delhi, and through the newspapers. Responses to its fact-oriented questionnaire were received from 468 (79. 32%) schools and 44 (or 62. 8%) colleges. The response percent-

(continued over-leaf)

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Four Short Reviews (continued)

age was no doubt boosted by personal visits of field investigators and research officers and (a vivid index of the apathetic state of the muslim community as a whole) cash awards ranging from Rs. 1,000 as consolation prizes and a first prize of Rs. 10,000/- for *inter alia* "thoughtful completion" of the questionnaires.

Purists wedded to rigorous methodology of scientific research would, no doubt, find a number of conceptual and operational short-comings in the survey design, but the resultant data-output deserve a wider circulation, specially because the Hamdrad National Foundation simultaneously embarked on three all-India surveys, of which the present report is only the first, and more specially, because the entire exercise was the result of an initiative taken by one of the most educated muslims in modern world in the person of the Nobel Laureate Prof. Abdul Salam.

It is hoped that HNF would also make better arrangements for circulation of these survey reports, specially the proposed 'All-India Economic Survey of Muslims'. It is also hoped that the intellectual team con-

ceptualizing and directing such a 'modernistic' enterprise would be able to eschew counter-productive 'suggestions' like the one on page 131, viz; "Reservation should be made by the government for muslim students of admission to technical professional courses in (such) colleges".

L. C. Jain with B. V. Krishnamurty and P. M. Tripathi

GRASS WITHOUT ROOTS :

Rural Development Under Government Aaspices.

Sage Publications, New Delhi (1986)
pp. 240. Rs. 150.00

Botanical and philosophical ambiguities of the title notwithstanding, L. C. Jain and his research team deserve kudos for their evaluative study of various government sponsored development programmes. It leaves many other such studies far behind in terms of lucidity of presentation of field evidence, though its conclusions are well known and widely accepted even in such gover-

nment-sponsored documents as the *Asoka Mehta Committee Report on Panchayati Raj Institutions (1978)*.

The present volume uses a number of case studies (Dhamadaha block, Bihar; Nanjungud block, Karnataka; Kherwara district, Rajasthan; Ishagarh block, Madhya Pradesh; Chakrata district, U. P.; Udipi and Gulbarga taluks, Karnataka) to bring out and highlight the sad reality of 'non-involvement' of the people at large in the development process at the grass root levels. But, without going as far as to postulate the 'developmental auto-genesis' role of PRI's that development would automatically generate *Panchayats* or, more meaningfully *panchayat raj* one may well ask : Why have the roots given up sprouting grass?

A short note on this book appeared in Jan-Feb 1986 Vol XI Nos 1 & 2 under "Books Received"

P. C. Mathur is an Associate Editor of IBC. Besides heading the Indian Society of Public Affairs he is associated with the Department of Political Science and other departments of Rajasthan University.

Crime Under British-Indian Law

Anand A. Yang, Editor

CRIME AND CRIMINALITY IN BRITISH INDIA

The University of Arizona Press for The Association for Asian Studies
(Monograph No. XIII) pp. xi+194 Price not indicated

Reviewed by Ehawanimal

Social historians working in the Marxist framework are fascinated by the study of 'historical' crime and criminality. They begin by rejecting the 'givens' of modern criminology and, instead of concentrating solely on the purposes of criminal law and its relationship to political imperatives, they question the very context in which the notions of crime and criminality arise. Viewing crime as a social phenomenon, they direct attention at the purposes, int-

erests and biases underlying the efforts of the ruling classes to define, repress and punish crime. They hold that crime is related to the interests of the elite and elite-dominated institutions, and it is the interests of the political elite that shape legal definitions of crime and civil strife. Focus is fixed largely on elucidating the structure and functioning of *class* and *power* in society as refracted through the lens of 'social' crime and law. Law itself is projected as

a vehicle of "class oppression" which is nevertheless endowed with enough credibility to be accepted widely as a legitimate means of exercising authority.

It is in this context that the subject of crime in its British-Indian historical setting has been approached by some scholars whose essays have been brought out in this volume. As stated by the editor, Anand A. Yang, the historical canvas on which he and his colleagues have sketched in their pictures of 'crime' is dominated by the presence of "that colonial state that was the British Raj."

THE COLONIAL CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY

The central theme of these essays is that the British never forgot
(continued over-leaf)

Crime and Criminality

that the Indian scene frequently provided a hotbed of challenges to their authority. Their own notion of 'authority' differed substantially from the indigenous practice. The traditional politics of India never held centralized powers: functions were often dispersed and fragmented, residing in the hands of semi-autonomous local overlords, retainers and other influential persons. On the contrary, the British saw 'authority' as exclusive, encompassing not only the power to coerce and effect change through institutions and brutal force, but also wield moral influence. They could not share it at any level with those whom they ruled.

The difference in these perceptions of authority is illustrated by the Mughal and British approach to the problem or crime of dacoity. The Mughals held their local administrators responsible for solving the problem and the crime was not seen as any reflection on the empire's ability to rule. By contrast, the British viewed its occurrence as a measure of the impotence of the Raj.

The imposition of the land-revenue based state power created by the British and the concomitant protection of a settled agrarian society had significant consequences. The local overlords were displaced; but the traditional responsibility discharged by them as an integral part of power relationships among discrete units of Indian society was not assumed by the Raj. The peripatetic "herdsman-marauder" type groups who had played an integral part in the local economy while exacting "protection rent" were squeezed out. As the Raj became more capable of imposing its own definition of morality on Indian society, certain groups were prevented from exercising culturally specific actions.

Yet another process which occurred during the British rule was the alteration of elite status and the introduction of new elite with new practices. Economic changes brought about during this period altered the existing relationships in the society. In the process, the social ties which had bound local society were severely

red or, at least, severely strained. This generated a sort of activity deemed as social protest. While the earlier Indian emperors would have recognised such activity in return for requisite obeisance, the British could only see it as a direct threat to their authority, and designated it as crime.

SUBALTERN STUDIES

This hypothesis is sought to be supported by some case studies dealing with:

(a) the rise of Bengal bandits after the Permanent Settlement in Bengal;

(b) incidents of social banditry in western India, after the downfall of the Peshwas;

(c) subaltern reactions to changing landlord-tenant relations, to the oppression of the money-lenders and petty officials, which took various forms ranging from "torchlight" dacoity to predominantly urban demonstrations, strikes and riots in Madras;

(d) rebellion of the Konds to defy British prescriptions against the performance of human sacrifice; and

(e) the suppression and segregation of marginal groups like *Maghiya Doms* of North Bihar and the *Bhils* as a race apart, and enactment of laws to treat them as "dangerous castes" and "criminal tribes" to hinder their integration into sedentary society.

The one point emphatically and repeatedly made in these essays is that the subordinate population or, in Gramsci's terminology, the "subaltern classes" were far from being inert and passive. Resenting loss of employment and subsistence land as landholders, as the state resumed rent-free tenures, they responded, often violently, to sharply adverse conditions, so as to express their grievances, or to punish those they saw as exploiters and, where possible to partly redress the socio-economic imbalance.

It has been claimed in the case studies that, as in all feudal types of societies, individuals and small groups

were driven by hunger and humiliation to commit acts of violence in such a way as to turn things upside down; and these acts were treated as 'crimes' by the alien rulers who reacted by evolving a comprehensive control apparatus to deal with the changing situation. In the authors' view, the character and level of these 'crimes' merely indicates points of tensions in the new society that was born during the long years from 1750 to 1850.

It does not surprise them, therefore, that the main purpose of the legal system developed by the British, far from protecting the private rights of subjects, merely provided a range of secondary services for the Company, both as the new 'state', and a 'shield' for European business interests which helped to translate political power into money. The authors have examined the infrastructure created by the British through the process of codification and organisations like the 'Thuggi and Dacoity Department' especially set up to tackle the specific forms of collective crime.

CONTROVERSIAL POSTULATES

The collection of essays offers an analysis of the efforts of the British regime to grapple with the spectre of crime and criminality as perceived by them among their subordinated people. It highlights the technology of power evolved by the Raj and concentrates on delineating forms and expressions of the "subaltern classes" protesting against the new elites or hegemonic classes. Its major basic postulates may not, however, earn universal acceptance.

First, the claim of bandits, whose careers in crime have been detailed in case studies, to 'respectability' is grossly exaggerated. The 'thug' is a case in point. Irrespective of the factors that drove him to depredations, there is no denying the fact that he was indeed a major menace to society. It is, therefore, perhaps too much to find fault with the concerted, large-scale control effort organised against murder and robbery, merely because murders and robberies had long been committed in British territories.

(continued on next page)

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tories. Likewise, it is rather harsh to characterize the massive man-hunt mounted by Sleeman merely as a programme designed to detect and convict criminals, not to protect the innocent. Any serious student of Indian history would agree that the situation was such as to call for extraordinary measures.

If the government of the day saw the emergence of *thugs* and dacoits as a grave threat to the society at large, and consequently devised a systematic, efficient and effective mode of this control, it may not be justified to propound the view that their first priority covered neither matters of prevention and protection for those being ruled, nor safeguards for those pursued, accused and convicted in programmes like the one launched by Sleeman, but it was the demonstration of the strength of British power and authority. Nor can the action taken to prevent certain groups such as *Konds* who indulged in ritual human sacrifice or the Rajputs in respect of female infanticide or the *Doms* in preying—be belittled on the ground that it was taken as it was deemed to be threatening to British exclusive authority and moral values. The moral right of the British to rule over India is easily questioned; but the pendulum is swung to the other extreme by according 'legitimacy' to the activities of all the groups highlighted in these case studies.

SALIENT FEATURES

While presenting the monograph "not as a definitive word on the topic, but as an initial foray into the yet darkly lit underworld of crime and criminality", its editor has hoped that "others will also venture into this historical landscape." It provides a new orientation to what has been described as the surveillance of crime and criminality by social historians, and will attract attention of persons engaged in Indian historiography.

Apart from historians, it will be useful to students of criminal justice system. They should be particularly

interested in the definition and codification of crime; the emphasis placed on preventive measures, especially against unlawful assemblies and the posting of bonds for good behaviour; the "approver" system of informers; and the tension between judicial protection of the individual and enforcement officials concerned for law and order. They are not likely to miss Sleeman's observation that "in a country like India officials who worried over-much about the possibility of the innocent suffering would be unsuccessful in bringing in the guilty"—a view which does not seem to have lost its relevance yet.

THE POLICE FORCE

The institution of police has also received considerable attention in this monograph. It has been projected as the mechanism by which authority and control were exercised with a view to maintaining the colonial system of rule. The growth of police was continually handicapped by the financial considerations of Imperial rule. Consequently, their numbers and the spans of reach were both limited. In terms of challenges to their authority, such crimes as were generally committed in the country-side were considered insignificant, and did not, therefore, require an efficient police administration. It was a different matter for the urban areas. Therefore, the police were deployed mostly in the cities. This attenuated presence caused a vast gulf between the police and the village, and the police came under a severe strain during the rise of nationalist movement in the early 20th century with its tactics of mass agitation.

Secondly, it had to abandon virtually the monitoring of 'minor' kinds of crime. Thirdly, while much individual crime could be controlled through the informal manipulation of indigenous social network for state purpose, it was predominantly collective crime—especially "extraordinary" collective crime, which demanded the creation of an elaborate infra-structure to impose a particularly British concept of state authority. It was for the police to deal with

the threats to the Raj, whether emanating from the bandits or the later day nationalists; and this approach certainly did not endear them to the society.

One could not agree more with a view expressed in this monograph that studies are needed on the relationships between the police and the people, a connection (or lack thereof) which has been evident in a number of tragic incidents involving the police in present-day India.

The reader may, or may not, agree with approach adopted and the conclusions drawn by the scholars whose essays appear in this monograph. He will not, however, be left unaffected by the 'encounter' with crime as presented in this work. "Surely in matters criminal, the social historian has to reconstruct the past from the bottom up", claims the editor. The image that emerges from this exercise may not be palatable to one's scholastic taste. Nevertheless, it cannot fail to arouse curiosity and provoke thought; and it is in this that the value of the work primarily lies.

As a member of the Indian Police Service (I. P. S.) Bhawanimathur has held many responsible positions in his parent State Rajasthan and in the Government of India. Now retired he is a member of the Rajasthan Public Service Commission at Ajmer which has also given him opportunity, though limited, to revert to his academic pursuits and his love for books.

Note : There was also a short comment on this book in the May, 1986 issue of IBC (Vol XI No. 5)

A SHORT AD :—**A BUSINESS OFFER**

A social scientist working in a reputed national research institution offers part-time editorial services to journals, publishing companies and other business establishments. Please contact through : The Executive Editor Indian Book Chronicle c/o Aalekh Publishers, Duggar Building Mirza Ismail Road, Jaipur (302001)

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The Revolutionary Raja

Mahendra Pratap

My **LIFE STORY**: *World Federation Dehradun (First Edition, 1947)*
pp. 358, price Rs. 6/-

Introduced by G. B. Kumar Hooja

For those who are interested to know what the Indian revolutionaries of yester-years went through, this account of the adventures, manoeuvres and sufferings of Raja Mahendra Pratap, who called himself a "servant of mankind" not without justification, and was the Founder of World Federation and became the President of the first Provisional Government of Free India, established in Kabul in 1915, would be an eye-opener.

Born in a landlord family of U.P. on December 1, 1886, he married a princess of Jind State in the Punjab. He was educated at the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, and took the vow of *swadeshi* at the Calcutta Congress of 1906, which he attended despite the disapproval of his brother-in-law, the Maharaja of Jind. Soon he established a technical institute at Brinadaban to train Indian youth in manual vocations; and gave away 5 villages out of his estate for the maintenance of this institute.

When World War I broke out, he went to Europe to see things for himself. Thus began a long saga of romantic endeavours, crucial negotiations and hazardous travels across the world, over the Pamirs and through China, Tibet, Japan, Siam, USSR, and USA, Iran, with his base at Kabul.

He was well received by the Kaiser Wilhelm II with whose benediction he managed to reach Kabul and cultivated the friendship of King Habibullah and, later on, of Kings Amanullah and Nadir Shah. His plan was to give battle to the British in India and, if possible, to lead an army of Indian revolutionaries, aided by friendly troops of States inimical to the British Empire. So he raised the slogans of **Asian Unity, World**

Federation, and Unity of Religions and worked tirelessly to achieve his object. This kept him in a long exile of 32 years, during which he lost his mute-suffering wife and elder brother. He was taken a prisoner after Japan lost the 1939-45 War, and returned to India in 1946 at the intercession of Indian leaders.

HIS PERCEPTIONS

In his world perception, he was a precursor of Subhash Bose, and possessed the same romantic, spiritual, martial, patriotic and humanistic strains as were revealed by Bose later.

He put forward the theory of **Trusteeship**; he would have the "haves" to serve the interests of the "have-nots". He advocated **peaceful co-existence** and questioned the right of a country to rule over or invade another. He also believed in the religion of love, and called those who spread hatred irreligious. He declared that all men and women have equal right to live well.

We may do well to recall his teachings during his birth centenary year.

"I believe in the **unity** of our human race. I believe that all men and women have **equal right** to live well. The people who have been entrusted with better intellect or some other better qualities by nature or human society are expected to serve more the well-being of all mankind. All those who use their born or acquired talents-acquired from the society, for their personal ends are wicked embezzlers. I hope that we shall all learn this truth and create conditions so that this truth survives and lives long. I think if we can assign the **right duty** to every individual and

: Two Phases

utilize them all in the common interest, we shall remove all the causes of individual friction. And if we can federate all the existing groups in a **common world organization**, we shall remove all the causes of groupal struggle."

"Governments, small or great, should try to keep peace in their narrow or broad areas. However, the governments of today are worst disturbers of peace on a large scale. They act like big thieves and big robbers and constantly try to break into the territory of their neighbours. I believe.....that under wrong education and training of the masses, some worst types of people can and do mount up in the administrative seats and misuse their powers..... I believe we must primarily insist to have **the best people to govern us or serve us as political servants**. They must not covet wealth. They must not try to own property. They should consider the good-will of humanity their greatest possession.....

"Ideas persuade man to look beyond the immediate wants. All religions are sets of ideas given to our human race in the interest of human well-being. They differ because they were produced at different times and at different places. They differ because they are meant to provide spiritual satisfaction to different temperaments. **The object of religion is to preserve our spiritual health**. People who quarrel about religion are hardly religious. I have no quarrel with any religion. **My religion is the unity of all religions**. My religion is the Religion of Love."

TRUSTEESHIP, PEACE AND LOVE

Thus spoke Raja Mahendra Pratap the great servant of man-kind, the, President of the *first* provisional Government of Free India, as far back as in 1929, when a second global war and the nuclear hol-

(continued on next page)

Of Militancy : Youth In Arms

Kamlesh Mohan

MILITANT NATIONALISM IN THE PUNJAB :

Published by Manohar Publications, (New Delhi) pp. 447, price Rs. 225/-

Reviewed by G. B. K. Hooja

ocaust lay in the womb of an unknown future, when the United Nations was yet a distant dream, when Indian Freedom was nowhere on the horizon. He lived long enough though and proved himself to be a true visionary and a far-sighted statesman, for what he fore-saw 60 years ago, came to pass. And what he then told his friends holds good today, and may well be considered seriously by those who have the good of the nation as well as humanity at heart.

He put forward the theory of **trusteeship** in society and even among the nations. He called upon the well-to-do and the luckier ones to consider the welfare of the disadvantaged sections of society as their own. He took an organic view of society and wished that all the existing groups should be federated into a common world organization so as to avoid all the causes of global struggle.

Of course, the League of Nations was there at that time; but it was an anaemic body. Following the holocaust of World War II, it dawned upon the statesmen of the world to resuscitate it in the form of the United Nations. And despite its constraints, this world body has not belied the expectations of its founders.

This brings us to the second thought of the great visionary, that the national governments, small or big, should maintain **peace** in their areas of authority and not rob or pirate into the territories of their neighbours. This is essentially the principle of co-existence, subsequently enshrined in the celebrated principles of **panch shila**, so dear to Nehru.

We come to the third major cause of conflict and violence in the world, "Religiosity", or may we say so, the "*commercialisation*" of religion, for, as the Raja said, people who quarrel about religion are hardly religious. He advocated the **unity of all religions** and declared that his

(continued in col. 3)

Dr. Kamlesh Mohan deserves to be congratulated for having worked on this very important phase of the Indian national struggle against British imperialism. For her research, she has chosen the period between two landmarks of the freedom struggle viz. the *Jallianwala Bagh massacre* in 1919 and the execution of *Bhagat Singh* in 1931 and managed to assimilate and present her material with great discretion and balanced judgement.

THE LONG SEQUENCE OF STRUGGLE

The history of Indian struggle covers a long and continuous period of at least 90 years, commencing with the so-called "*Ghadar*" of 1857 and ends with the lowering of the Union Jack in 1947. Naturally, there were many ups and downs in the tempo of the movement; but the discerning historian can trace a constant thread of restlessness, agitation and sacrifice, almost a constant self-immolation on the part of what we would call in our idiom moths on the flame of freedom.

Recognition of Bahadur Shah Zafar as the symbolic leader of India's determination to free herself from the clutches of the East India Company by the disbanded Kings and Queens of the several Hindu and Muslim princely states of India and the soldiery of the Company was the first landmark of the declaration of the national will for independence. The "mutiny" otherwise hailed as the 'first war of Indian Independence,' was ruthlessly crushed, but a defeated India continued to harbour the spirit of independence nonetheless.

In 1875, Dayananda declared that foreign rule, howsoever benign

and attractive it might be, can never be a substitute for self-rule. Twenty years later, Lokmanya Tilak declared that "*Swarajya* is my birth right and I shall have it".

Then came the militant period following the partition of Bengal, in which Aurbindo Ghosh in Bengal and Lala Lajpa Rai and Ajit Singh in the Punjab kept aloft the banner of revolt. This was followed by the 'Ghadar' Movement of 1915, in which the heroes of Kama Gata Maru fame inspired by Hardayal and Bhai Parmanand challenged the might of the British Empire with the support of Indians abroad.

Later when Gandhi felt dismayed at the treatment meted out to India in the shape of the Rowlett Act and gave his call for *satyagraha* in 1919, the national spirit which was obviously waiting for some practical programme or demonstration for mass action burst into a flame; and then occurred the tragedy of Jallianwala.

A FRESH MILITANCY—

This was as if an '*aahuti*' in the sacred *yajna* or sacrifice of freedom, leading to an unprecedented mass upsurge as never before. After the Chauri Chaura incident, Gandhi called off the *satyagraha* movement. But the restless youth took up the challenge in their own fashion, which

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religion was the Religion of Love. How true and relevant to our times was this belief when we find the society in India and elsewhere riven by pedlars of religion in many garbs some acting as merchants of death.

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YOUTH IN ARMS—

exhibited itself in the "ideologies" or daring actions of the *Babbar Akali Jatha*, the *Kirti Kisan Party*, the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha*, the *Hindustan Socialist Republican Association* and the *Atashi Chakkar* groups in the Punjab.

The author has rightly pointed out that these various groups, though originating from or firmly based in the Punjab had vital links with the militant movements in Bengal, Bombay, U. P. and Delhi and further that, though these groups felt compelled to undertake acts of 'individual' terrorism, yet the "militant nationalists" (as she has called them) did not believe in the efficacy of 'pure terrorism' as an only instrument for the destruction of British imperialism. On the other hand, the militant nationalists laid great stress on 'ideological propaganda' and 'mass participation' of peasants, workers and youth.

—AND ITS SEQUEL

While Gandhians and many others have ascribed the winding up of the British Empire mainly to the non-violent struggle, devised and led by Gandhi, the study made by Dr. Mohan seeks to establish the claim, and a recognizable role, of the militant nationalists too, in this long-drawn national endeavour. At the same time, she makes it clear that the 'revolutionary activity' which reached a high peak with the ascendancy of Bhagat Singh on the political horizon could not, by itself in the final analysis, achieve the desired result. In fact, not much long after the execution of Bhagat Singh Sukhdev and Rajguru, the militant movement gradually began to peter out, though there was wide-spread sympathy and regard for these martyrs and their militant actions.

These are some sobering thoughts which students of the nationalist movement in India need to ponder over.

No doubt, militancy re-appeared in a different form during the "Quit India Movement" launched by Gandhi in 1942, and also in the shape of the Indian National Army (INA) by patriotic soldiers of the army cap-

tured by the Japanese after the fall of Burma and Singapore and briefly led by Netaji and later, in the shape of the Naval Mutiny (1946).

Yet the role of the successive mass movements organized by Gandhi based on *satyagraha* and non-violence must be recognized as these became the main or dominant instruments in the awakening of the masses and the ultimate folding up of the British Empire from India and elsewhere in the years to follow.

YOUTH TO THE FOREFRONT

Dr. Mohan has rightly noted that in spite of their anathema to the basic principles of *satyagraha*, compromise and non-violence, the militant nationalists in the Punjab in the 1920's, adopted a 'judicious' policy of association or dissociation with the Congress and other parties at their discretion. They urged the Mahatma to modify his methods and relax his strictures regarding *ahimsa* so as to involve ordinary workers and peasants who could not be expected to have acquired perfect moral or mental discipline as per Gandhian standards.

This insistence no doubt influenced the thinking of many youthful elements in the Congress ranks led by Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru, who called for complete national independence as a goal of the Congress and so led the Congress to adopt an economic programme for the amelioration of mass poverty. The adoption of resolutions on fundamental rights and economic policy at the Karachi Congress session was also a proof of the success of the militant propaganda in persuading the Congress to present a programme for building up an independent, socialist republic.

In this well-researched book, many martyrs and heroic fighters of our freedom like Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Rajguru, B. K. Dutt, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, J. N. Dass, Chandra Shekhar Azad, B. K. Sinha, Comrade Ramkishan, Ajai Ghosh, Hari Krishan and numerous others come to life in their refulgent glory. Thus resurrected, they pertinently seem to question and challenge the

present generation if they would let the hard-earned freedom of the motherland again slip through their hands by indulging in separatist and unpatriotic activities.

These young men and women of the militant era were inspired by the slogan "Who lives if India dies; and who dies if India lives." They were aware of the degradation imposed on the Indians by the mere fact that India was a British colony, that she had on flag of her own, nor her own constitution. That is why the heroes of Kama-Gata Maru fame were not allowed to land in Canada. That is why 'Indians and dogs' were not allowed to enter certain clubs and restaurants in various parts of the Empire, even in India. This is why Indians were made to crawl along like animals in the streets of Amritsar.

The present generation does not have any feel or experience of these dreaded and challenging memories. It, therefore, needs to be reminded of the sacrifices made by the select band of martyrs of the Indian struggle and of the common people, as a result of which freedom came to this troubled land at long last, and the present generation of India also now finds itself ensconced into positions of pelf and power. The present generation owes a great debt to the brave fighters of the previous generations and can repay it only by dedicating itself to the cause of the protection of the sovereignty and unity of India based as it is on the ideals of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity.

The study under review should be of great relevance not only to the students and scholars of national history, but also to those who are today enthroned on positions of power and authority insofar as it can and should stimulate their vision and sense of duty.

G. B. Kumar Hooja, a retired administrator and former V. C. of the Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya near Hardwar (U. P.) was, in his youth, quite close to some of the militant nationalists in Punjab so that he writes about these facets of freedom struggle and the challenges of our day with both passion and dedication.

And Then Jinnah Discovered Pakistan

Ayesha Jalal

THE SOLE SPOKESMAN—Jinnah the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan. Cambridge University Press, pp. 310 price (in India. Rs. 150/-)

Reviewed by Asghar Ali Engineer

(Below is the first of three reviews of the book received by IBC -Ed.)

It is very difficult to write objectively on a personality as controversial as Jinnah. For some he was a great hero and creator of a country, while to many others, he was a chief villain and divider of a country.

Objectivity as such is difficult to achieve on any social issue with which biases and passions are associated. It becomes even more difficult when it comes to writing about a person like Jinnah for whom there is either reverence or love, or utter contempt and disrespect. Ayesha Jalal, however, has achieved a great measure of objectivity in assessing Jinnah—a veritable feat indeed.

The book has been divided into seven chapters, the last one being "The End Game: Mounbatten and Partition" which is obviously the most crucial chapter of all. In the very opening para of the first chapter, "Jinnah Between the Wars" she rightly points out, "Jinnah never showed much enthusiasm for the principle of *separate electorates*, which were granted to Muslims by Morley and Minto in 1909." How is it that a person who remained indifferent or opposed to *separate electorates* became the champion of a *separate* country for Muslims? The book successfully assigns itself the task of studying this process of transformation of Jinnah.

The transformation was neither sudden and mysterious nor intuitive. It owed itself very much to certain objective political processes which must be studied and properly evaluated. Ayesha Jalal has taken pains to study them quite meticulously.

It should be understood that, though in the initial phases the Muslim League was a party of feudal

interests mainly loyal to the British, in its later phases, specially twenties onwards, it was much more than that. The swelling ranks of educated middle class youth among the Muslims aspiring for better positions and greener pastures not only joined it but made the League more and more militant and dynamic.

The Indian National Congress simply failed to appreciate this 'revolution' of rising aspirations among the Muslims with a rapid spread of education and democratic consciousness. A section of the Congress leadership not only could not come to terms with this change, but exerted powerful pressure against those who wanted to; and thus often such Muslim demands as could have averted partition could not be met.

Jinnah tried his best until 1928, when the Motilal Nehru Committee Report came out, to persuade the Indian National Congress to meet certain demands of the Muslims. During the debate on the report, he had observed.

".....If you do not settle this question today, we shall have to settle it tomorrow, but in the meantime our national interests are bound to suffer. We are all sons of this land. We have to live together. We have to work together and whatever our differences may be, let us at any rate not create more bad blood. If we cannot agree, let us at any rate agree to differ, but let us part as friends. Believe me, there is no progress for India until the Musalmans and Hindus are united, and let no logic, philosophy or squabble stand in the way of our coming to a compromise and nothing will make me more happy than to see the Hindu-Muslim union."

Despite all this, when no settlement could be arrived at between the League and some other Muslim Leaders on one hand, and the Indian National Congress on the other, Jinnah's outlook began to change.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE STORY

The other side of the story is equally important. It is not that Jinnah was equally popular in all the Muslim majority provinces like Bengal, the Punjab, Sindh N. W. F. Province. Nor did the Muslim League have firm roots in these provinces. Until mid-forties, Jinnah's word in these provinces, was hardly respected. Ayesha has very painstakingly documented Jinnah's 'weightlessness' and 'helplessness' in these provinces in the third chapter, "Jinnah and the Muslim-majority Provinces." In fact, as late as 1944, when Cripps offer was still open, Jinnah was still trying to bring the ministries and assemblies in the majority provinces in line..... "But the situation remained much the same."

In this chapter, she discusses one by one the state of politics and politicians in the Muslim majority provinces of Punjab, Bengal, Sind and N. W. F. Province. The picture was quite dismal. No politician or political party in these provinces cared for *Muslim interests* or *Islamic unity*. Everyone was too busy in his own intrigues to care for such 'ideals'. Describing the Punjab scene after Sikandar Hayat Khan's death in 1942, she writes, "However, the scramble among the leaders to grab Sikandar's mantle meant that for the one who got in, there were the many who were left out. In the Unionist chain, Hayats and Daultanas were now the weakest link. But exploiting Unionist splits was quite a different matter from backing the rump of genuine Leaguers, protesting noisily but unimpressively from the urban margins of the Punjab."

The situation in other Muslim majority provinces was on better. Jinnah had a most difficult task of bringing these provinces behind him

(continued over-leaf)

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JINNAH & PAKISTAN—

as he was repeatedly claiming that he spoke for all Indian Muslims.

It is also interesting to note that the forces of Bengali and Punjabi regionalism were no less assertive to make things worse for him. Punjabi and Bengali Muslims did not relish the idea of partition of their provinces. In fact, Sikander resigned from the League Working Committee in 1942 to demonstrate that the demand for *Muslim self-determination* might bring about the partition of the Punjab. "Once Punjabi Muslims realised this, they would, Sikander hoped, think twice before blindly following Jinnah. Bengali Muslims were no less dreadful of partitioning their province."

THE ULTIMATE DRAMA

But then the important question arises, why was the country partitioned? And how could Jinnah whose League had anything but mass following in these provinces succeed in making them fall in line and support *his* demand for Pakistan? This is discussed in the last chapter of the book "The End Game: Mountbatten and Partition." This chapter is quite valuable as it throws fresh light on the drama which was enacted towards the end of 1946, and which proved fatal for the people of India.

In fact, examining dispassionately all the facts available, one begins to wonder whether the creation of Pakistan was a success for Jinnah or a failure? It might startle some readers, but there is a grain of truth in after all maintaining that Jinnah himself was not so whole-heartedly committed to the idea of Pakistan.

In fact, the situation was very complex and number of contradictory forces were at play. In this whole drama, no one individual, howsoever indefatigable like Jinnah, or more indefatigable than him, could be held responsible for partition of the country. It would be simplistic, even naive, to throw the entire blame on one person. A detailed and minute examination of the role of various

forces and personalities is certainly called for.

It would be interesting to note that, quite exasperated by the drama that was unfolding, the Congress passed a resolution in March 1947, which demanded the partition of the Punjab, a principle which would if necessary be extended, as Nehru explained, to Bengal. "Two days after the resolution was adopted," Jalal points out, "Nehru called for separate ministries in western and eastern Bengal. In this way, eastern Punjab and western Bengal could be brought into the Congress fold."

Another important determining factor was the differing perceptions of the powers to be vested in the central and provincial governments. Jinnah pressed for a federal set-up with federal government at the centre looking after defence, communication and foreign policy, the remaining powers being vested with the federating provincial units. The Congress leadership, on the other hand, preferred a strong centre with minimum powers vested with the provinces. Nehru and Sardar Patel would rather prefer partition to a weak centre.

A DILEMMA

Jinnah also had to face a cruel dilemma. Ayesha points out this when she says, "As Mountbatten insisted that what was good for the Muslims was good also for other communities. Jinnah became more and more distressed and displeased." Since the Lahore resolution, the demand which Jinnah and the League had orchestrated was always couched in terms of the *Muslim right* to self-determination. How could that right now be denied to substantial non-Muslim minorities living in contiguous districts in the Punjab and Bengal?"

Various interpretations and reinterpretations of the Cabinet Mission Plan, which was the only ray of hope in that tangled situation, also created many complex problems. In this end game, as Ayesha points out, a moment came when "It was Congress that insisted on partition. It

was Jinnah who was against partition."

It may sound incredible, but all imaginable things happened in those dramatic days. This chapter of the book is extremely interesting and worth reading for all those who want to understand the end game which brought about partition of our country.

The study is based on quite painstakingly researched material and has a lucid, readable style. It is quite a realistic account of Jinnah's politics which project him neither as hero nor as villain. He is painted neither in black nor in white, but in grey and other shades, which can realistically project as controversial a personality as Jinnah.

Dr Asghar Ali Engineer is the Director of the Institute of Islamic Studies, Bombay. This review first appeared in the Point Counter-point and is reproduced by courtesy of the writer and the editor of that journal.

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A Bard Of The Desert

Introducing Sumer Singh Shekhawat

MARU MANGAL (in Rajasthani)

Alka Prakashan, Sikar, Rajasthan, Pages 120, Price Rs. 21/-

Reviewed by I. K. Sharma

"To an outsider, the word Rajasthan evokes a vision of war and barrenness. To tell him that a steady stream of poetry flowed unceasingly through this land will be at once taken as an act of self-praise. Verily, this is not so. I am only stating a fact of history. Rajasthan, since the dawn of her civilization, has been a nursery of poets. This is the land of Magh and Mira. Bhar-trihari and Behari, Chand Bardai and Suryamall—all great poets who are widely recognized and acknowledged.

"Poetry has been a great creative enterprise in Rajasthan. It took birth in huts, walked with the war drums, sang with the shifting sand dunes, and hummed with the hearths and hearts of people. Its rich treasury, written as well as oral, goes into the making of the collective unconsciousness of the modern poet of Rajasthan. He is the inheritor of this literary tradition.

"The contemporary poetry of Rajasthan, after independence, is not a revolt against the old tradition but a free and frank acceptance of the new situation. The new poet felt doubly free—free from the yoke of British slavery and free from the fetters of feudal lords. Hence he had a double share of joy. He proclaimed it this way :

"A new dawn of fresh confidence begins
Today darkness has run far away,
Awake now is the deep-buried
element of sacrifice
Awake now is the Himalaya
and also awake is India."

(*The New Morning* : Sumer Singh Shekhawat) *From an essay on Contemporary Poetry in Rajasthan* by I. K. Sharma)

Sumer Singh Shekhawat has been writing poetry both in Rajasthani and Hindi for over two decades. His very first volume, *Meghmaal* (1957) was rated an outstanding contribution to Rajasthani poetry. Soon it carved out a niche for itself and earned admiration from critics and laymen alike.

The second volume of poems *Maru-Mangal* (which won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1984) is a clear departure from his own literary past. Here, he is no more burdened with the baggage of poetic tradition. On the other hand, he joins the modern band of singers who view events and the drifting ways of the world critically, ironically, and sometimes emotionally. He lashes out at all that is corrupt, perverse, and un-natural in the present-day Indian society.

LOOKING TO THE PAST

The new that has come to stay here awakens the old in him. Time and again, he looks back at the glorious past of Rajasthan, not like a dreaded child rushing back to its mother for shelter. He looks back for comparison, not consolation. Often he suggests that the days gone by were in many respects far better than our so-called progressive era. The modern age may have all that goes under the common name of 'culture' and 'civilization', but these very provisions, he has a feeling, have had a corroding influence on the psyche of the new Indian.

A genuine poet does not accept the present as it is, for his chief interest is 'man-making' not money-making. He disapproves of what is fake and dehumanizing. In his irreverent way, a Canadian poet called culture 'that under-arm perspiration

odour of impotent old men.' Likewise, Sumer Singh laments the erosion of human values and the general decline of moral standards, especially in new India. Without concealing his ire, he sums up the Indian social scene thus :

*Sono-Sono, Chandi-Chandi,
Satta-Note-Vote Ri Bandi
Jiwe Nathyo,¹ Margyo Gandhi,
Roway Inquilab² Ri Andhi!*

Gold goes with gold, silver with silver.

POWER is in bondage of 'Vote' and 'Note'.

Nathya¹ is alive, Gandhi is dead.
The storm of *Inquilab*² sheds tears only.

1—Nathu Ram Godse

2—Revolution

COMMENTARY ON INDIAN SOCIETY

The long poem *Op* is an elaborate commentary on the contemporary Indian society and the dangerous course it is pursuing. Hardly is there any area of social concern that has escaped his critical eye and has not received a dig from his pen. The poem has rapid shifts like changing of camera angles in a film. In the beginning, the poet showers praises on ancient India and *Marudhara* i. e. Rajasthan. This first part of the poem goes to the sharpening of his quill and thereafter, barbed comments, one after another in a long sequence, issue forth. To

(continued over-leaf)

About the poet

SHEKHAWAT, SUMER SINGH
winner of Sahitya Akademi (National Akademi of Letters) Award, 1984. Born on 10 Sept. 1935 at Sarwadi, district Sikar, (Rajasthan). Education : M. A. B. Ed. *Publications* : *Meghmaal* and *Maru-Mangal* (in Rajasthani) *Geeti-Mukta* (Hindi) His '*Rajasthan Ur Un Ro Jeevan Darshan*' is an essay of seminal importance in Rajasthani literature. He has contributed to *Maruvani*, *Olmo*, *Jagti Jot*, *Raj-than*, *Patrika* etc.

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A BARD OF THE DESERT—

the poet, the whole situation is depressing. Often his eye turns to the common man whose difficulties are mounting up each day. The much-talked about thirty-five years of freedom have not soothed his frayed nerves. Economic difficulties, he feels, have further ground his inner spirit. Bluntly he then asks;

Panh Khushi Kathe Ar Kathe Haras

Swadheen Desh Jyoon Chilam-Charas !

Where is joy ? Where is happiness ?

The free land is like hemp and pipe.

Science—he warns, may lead man to self-extinction. Man should not inter-meddle in the working of nature. If he does not desist, he will be destroyed.

O Vigyan Tane Khaye Lo,

Jadamool Soon Mit Javelo,

This science will eat you up.

You will be consumed to your last cell.

COCERN FOR NATURE

Deforestation. His introduction to the book is a strong plea for the conservation of nature. He writes :

Before independence, this wasteland was in a true sense an auspicious tract of land and it appeared tastefully decked and dressed. But it is not so now.....Such a callous destruction of forests has taken place in the last few years that woodland is seen, near nor far. Hills have become bald.....No harm if barren lands are tilled, but the reckless felling of trees is positively unwise.

Freedom does not mean annihilation of all others. Does it mean human-animal alone will live on the face of the earth and the entire surface appear dreary and desolate ?

This concern of the poet for nature is shared by poets all over the world, whether it is Judith Wright of Australia or Irving Layton of Canada. They all feel that a society

that fails to protect its forests, and pollutes air and water night and day, is not likely to survive long.

Besides his strong social concern, another area that merits our consideration is his aesthetic impulse.

Sumer Singh is not a technical innovator, but he has deftly employed the old forms for his new use. He has written metrical and rhymed verse with commendable ease and restraint. (He has 'flirted' with free verse too.) Words drawn from his neighbourhood, besides keeping him close to the common reader, fit in remarkably well in his poems. They gain a simple dignity and majesty of their own. They flow from his pen as if they have grown there. Nowhere do they hamper the onward flow either of language or of emotions. This flow is easy, smooth, and rhythmic.

Another noticeable feature of his poetry is that his images or similes have come from the land he is attached to. They do not come pedantically from metropolitan towns, foreign lands, and the pacific ocean. The pastoral, feudal, and modern—all three phases or facets of Rajasthan, come alive in his poetry.

A cloud when sighted sends a wave of spontaneous jubilation among the hamlet-dwellers. But the cloud is un-obliging. To describe such an erratic wandering cloud, he does not go far from his personal experience. He aptly compares :

*Abho Laranlore, Megha Mandarave
Janney Soona Dhor,*

Clouds are surging,
hanging loose,
like a herd, untended.

A perfect union of the earth and the sky !

In short, his poetry does not ever move into the region of the elite. It stays where he wants it to be.....the region of the common man. Here it is neither slavish, nor aggressive. It flows happily between the two extremes.

I. K. Sharma is Associate Professor of English at the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

Books Received

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The Chief Secretary in India, Meena Sogani, *Associated Publishing House, New Delhi* (1984), price Rs. 95.00

Australian Literature: Last Three Decades, R. K. Kaul (Editor), *Rajasthan University Centre for Studies in English, Jaipur* (1984) *Special Number* price Rs. 10.00

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Energy Alternatives for Rural Development, Rakesh Hooja and Yogeshwar Sharma (Editors) *Centre for Management Studies, HCM Rajasthan Institute of Public Administration Jaipur* (1984) price Rs. 75.00

The Thirteenth Victim, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas *Amar Prakashan, Delhi* (1986) price Rs. 80.00

Maya Darpan and other Stories, Nirmal Verma, *Oxford University Press (Three Crown Books)* (1986) price Rs. 40.00

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Muslims in Sri Lanka, Vasundhara Mohan, *Aalekh Publishers Jaipur* (1986) price Rs. 60.00

Sinking Indian Judicial Pyramid I. R. Siwach, *Chinta Prakashan, Pilani (Rajasthan)* 1986

Goan Vignettes and Other Poems, Ashok Mahajan. *Oxford University Press Delhi* (1986) price Rs. 25.00

The Metropolitics Of Kanpur

Rajendra Kumar Awasthi

URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND METROPOLITICS IN INDIA

Chugh Publications, Allahabad (1985), pp. xiv+148 price Rs. 120

Reviewed by Biswroop Das

The proliferation of writings dealing with various aspects related to the mechanics of urban development during recent years in the country have, in most cases, not really been able to surface above the mark of peripheral quality. While adding to this pile, Awasthi's book on '*Urban Development and Metropolitics in India*' represents yet another case of such a state of affairs in this otherwise so important an area of research.

While stating the scope of his study, which features as an apparent contradiction to the rather catchy (but certainly confusing) title of his book, Awasthi begins with quite an erroneous proclamation on the density of literature on urban problems to be low in the contemporary context. For during the last decade a significantly large body of literature has emerged on various aspects relative to this theme. Leave apart such specific studies, one cannot, in this context, even afford to ignore the burgeoning literature on the urban contexts and urbanization processes of the Third World countries. Implicitly thus Awasthi begins probably inadvertently, with premises that at best, can be labelled as narrow and frugal. Without attempting to define, even pretentiously, as to what is meant by '*Metropolitics*' the punch-word appearing on the cover of this volume, Awasthi narrows down his canvas to the study of problems of urban development *vis-a-vis* the role of a specific municipal corporation.

It would however still have been worth the attempt if he would have remained at least true to his narrowed down specifics of the problem even while taking almost a *volte face* on the otherwise apparent theme implied in the title of the vol-

ume, without even the slightest attempt of capturing the concept of 'urban' and specifically 'urban development', Awasthi begins his first chapter, which essentially contains nothing more than *trends* in the growth of population, industry, employment, migration and housing within the city of Kanpur. With intermittently appearing data, collated from the Town and Country Planning Department as well as the Urban Development Authority of Kanpur, the chapter, at best has been able to duplicate figures from a few census documents. In the absence of an analysis focussed at the inter-relationships between aspects picked for examination, the chapter emerges as a forced amalgamation of loose 'data-bags'. Hence, at the end of the chapter, Awasthi has no choice but to harp on needs such as huge financial resources and commitment and concerted efforts by various bodies related in one way or the other to the 'development' of the city as the concluding statement of this chapter. Such a conclusion if not labelled as the height of naivety, can certainly be placed in its close proximity.

Having covered 21 per cent of the total text of his book in the first chapter, Awasthi proceeds to discuss the *civic utilities* within the city through an ineffective portrayal of data related to transport, water-supply, drainage, sanitation etc. Occasional references to schemes and development programmes envisaged by related departments, though superficial as they are, emerge as the only deviation within this rather monotonously repetitive (in terms of approach and method) and boring chapter.

The third chapter on *community facilities*, while ardently correspond-

ing to the consistent frugality of the earlier chapters, gives, more space than what appears to be due to mortality rates among different groups under the sub-head of public health and medical facilities, and subsequently moves on to talk about literacy, education, cultural activities and recreation within the city in that order. Destined to be inconclusive, the chapter at places seems like jottings from a tourist's diary.

The next chapter dealing with *city administration* and the role of Municipal Corporation, which apparently should have been the key chapter as per the theme, manifests similar characteristics. It does not go beyond a mere description of the corporation, charting of an organizational set-up of such institutions in Uttar Pradesh and an enlistment of various departments under the *Nagar Mahapalika*. The sub-section captioned as '*Kanpur Nagar Mahapalika at Work*' in the same chapter, though it raises hope for a student of urban politics, gets diffused by a description of un-analyzed and often unwarranted details on the corporation elections. Ironically, the corporational politics and factionalism get only a space of a page and a half in the entire volume and remain rather loosely placed. The rest of the sections dealing with the fiscal performance of the corporation and the structure and objectives of parallel authorities such as the Kanpur Development Authority and the *Kanpur Jal Sansathan* also appear superficial and loose.

The dominantly inconclusive character of the book becomes explicitly clear when Awasthi closes his book by placing a resume of all the earlier chapters, captioned similarly, under the umbrella of what he has chosen to label as an epilogue.

With a fairly high-price tag and too little to offer, the volume deserves to be ignored by all those concerned with aspects related to politics and urban development.

Dr. Biswroop Das is a member of the Faculty at the Centre for Social Studies, South Gujarat University, Surat

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Two Public Sector Units

K. K. Singh

INVESTMENT PROJECTS IN PLANNED ECONOMY

Amar Prakashan, Delhi, (1985) pp, 190, price Rs. 120.

Reviewed by Preeti Singh

In India, the public sector as well as the private sector have both played a vital role in the development of the economy.

The public sector's priorities have been specifically laid down; and their emphasis is on regional development, self-reliance, social benefits and long-term growth. Such perspectives lead it to dominate the Indian industrial scene, while leaving ample scope for the private sector to participate in projects which are both important and useful to the economy. Long-term investment projects which build the infrastructure of the country are largely in the public sector. It is necessary to evaluate their performance continuously. An analysis of their working will bring out both the strength and limitations of such units, which will help in deciding the future course of action for improvement in work schedules.

This book on investment projects is directed towards an in-depth analysis of two large public sector organisations: the Hindustan Steel Ltd. and the Heavy Engineering Corporation.

HINDUSTAN STEEL AND ITS FINANCES

After tracing the origin and growth of Hindustan Steel Ltd. (HSL) it gives information regarding the personnel employed with respect to the number employed, salaries disbursed to them, bonus and other benefits given as welfare considerations. These terms are indicators of expenses involved, which affect the profitability of the organisation. Further, it analyses the more important aspects of performance relating to the financial soundness of the enterprise.

The financial aspects of HSL show that it has run into losses in

the first few years of its working, and has attained very low profitability in the later years.

One of the features of this book is that the financial working of the HSL organisation has been compared to two other steel companies in the private sector. The author admits that the private sector has performed better than the public sector steel organisation, and he gives some reasons for the differences in performance. For example, the Hindustan Steel Ltd. has had to pay a huge amount as interest, due to its heavy reliance on loans; and it also pays large amounts to its depreciation funds. Its expenses on works administration and selling operations are also higher than in the case of the private sector steel organisations. These are a few problem areas which must be carefully analysed and expenses reduced for a better overall performance.

HEAVY ENGINEERING CORPORATION

The Heavy Engineering Corporation (HEC) has been established in the producer goods' sector to help in the production of manufacturing industries. The various units under its fold are: (a) Heavy Machine Building Plant (b) Foundry Forge Plant and (c) Heavy Machines Tool Plant.

Besides, the Corporation also encourages small industries to work as ancillaries to large units. The H. E. C. provides a link between the producers and consumers goods industries. It tries to produce items which are good substitutes for machine or tool products hitherto imported. It also plans to export goods produced by it.

The financial performance of the H. E. C. organisation is, however,

very poor. This has been attributed to the fact that HEC does not charge full costs in its pricing policy. Coupled with this, it has to bear heavy expenses for diversifying its products, and providing the basic development support to other industries.

The author has discussed the impact of the public sector projects on the growth rate of the economy. He has also analysed the effects on foreign exchange, import substitution, export promotion, employment and diversification of funds.

It is an informative book, simple to read and provides a welcome comparison of the public sector undertakings with private sector units in the same fields of operation. No doubt, there is need to analyse the working of more such organisations in the light of their experiences and work roles right from the time of their inception. However, the author should not have provided an excuse for the low performance of the two public sector industries. The performance itself shows that the productivity measured per person employed is low, and the returns as regard sales and marketing are also not satisfactory. The author should have emphasized instead the low rates of return and lower productivity in comparison with private sector enterprises which have fewer people in employment and a higher rate of returns. This has, of course, to be stressed bearing in mind the priorities of the planned economy.

Dr. (Mrs.) Preeti Singh teaches in the Department of Commerce, Jesus & Mary College, New Delhi.

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Improving College Libraries

C. D Sharma and Naresh Boonlia (Editors)

INFORMATION SERVICE FOR COLLEGE LIBRARIANS

Printwell Publishers, Jaipur (1985) pp. x+156, price Rs. 85/-

Reviewed by Prem Chand, Bansal

The job of the librarians requires them to **continue to learn** so that they may help and guide the users of the library. With the rapid explosion of information, they also need to continuously up-date their knowledge. In the case of a large number of colleges, the life of the librarians is dull and routine, and they seldom get any professional literature and expert guidance. In this context, the publication of *Information Service for College Librarians* is a useful effort. Based on a UGC Seminar organised at Shri P. S. B. Government College, Shahpur, (Rajasthan) in July, 1981, it includes contributions on such diverse problems as the Role of the College Library, Continuing Education for College Librarians, Role of Information Service in a College Library, and Information Service for College Librarians.

LEARNING THROUGH LIBRARIES

As A. P. Srivastava puts it, the optimal utilisation of a college library depends on the local teachers. They have to adopt teaching techniques which minimise telling of facts or giving ready-made opinions to the students, but rouse curiosity amongst the latter by posing the *pros* and *cons* of problems and encouraging them to seek information from library resources. For this, teachers have to keep themselves abreast with the latest developments in their fields through the 'awareness' service of a modern library.

He has stressed the need for obtaining reprinting rights for current contents at any cost.

The college libraries have also to be linked with the university library.

His plea is also for a state-level organisation to co-ordinate all types of libraries, the establishment of a bibliographic and reprographic service centre, and for link between academic libraries and those of research institutions and laboratories.

The 'concept of a library college' has been out-lined by Girja Kumar who calls for the integration of library instructions in the college curriculum so that the students depend heavily on the library and the role of the faculty is minimal. In some cases, the faculty and the librarian can join together and provide guidance to the students; the librarian serving them with facilities for access to sources of information, and the teachers "task" being to encourage the students to think about such information, criticise it, incorporate it and take decisions based upon it."

According to Krishan Kumar, a library must adequately serve the needs and requirements of the teachers and students. For the purpose of evaluation as to how these objectives are met, and to make specific recommendations for improvement, the author prefers 'quantitative analysis'. Standards need to be laid down to measure various aspects of services provided by a college library.

TOWARDS A PROFESSIONAL APPROACH

C. D. Sharma has hailed the year 1924, as a *landmark* in the history of the library movement in India, when S. R. Ranganathan switched over to librarianship. His five laws of library science generated research activities in almost all aspects of library science. Sharma has analysed one hundred and eleven contribut-

ions on library organisation and management from 1970 to 1979 to observe that most of them reveal the prevailing descriptive nature of research. Library organisation is more popular than library management. Also the youngsters need encouragement to contribute to professional literature. The need for continuing education for librarians is stressed to help them extend their liberal education and increase their subject knowledge. For this purpose, courses or seminars and workshops can be organised by professional associations and the education departments. Librarians need necessary feed-back with requisite information they need, so as to carry out their work effectively and efficiently.

C. D. Sharma feels that, if a librarian is given sufficient *authority* to transact his business successfully, he will be accountable for the college library's functions and services. At present, he is neither delegated any authority (by the college management) nor granted even the membership of library committee. A librarian should be given due authority in the management of his library, in planning its finances and its constructive use. It is high time that responsibilities of college librarians are decided and a code of conduct drawn up.

The U. G. C. can also play an important role in this direction since libraries have an important role to play in stimulating research activities. For example in the selection of a research problem or in locating various information sources and preparation of bibliographies etc and also by indexing and abstractions of periodicals.

THE AIM AND A DILEMMA

P. C. Patel suggests that an "academic library" has an important role to play in continuing education after the completion of formal education. The most important aim of a college library is to help the students to develop "the library habit". Most of the libraries provide only one-point service by issuing and receiving books; though many readers are

(continued over-leaf)

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COLLEGE LIBRARIES—

interested in specific information. The librarians should be able to meet their demand.

R. K. Dave has dealt with the 'dilemma' of a college librarian. It cannot have all the published material to render every type of service to the faculty or student readers. There are financial as well as manpower constraints. However, a library should be tolerably well-organised and functional so as to allow optimal utilisation of resources. The students should be acquainted with the use of a library and taught the importance of reading. More than half the student problems are due to non-availability of text-books. Dave laments that most libraries are deficient in respect of books and periodicals, and in the services rendered by them, there is much scope for improvement.

Govardhan Sharma describes the functions of a librarian which cover both technical aspects and services to the user readers. The college library should contribute effectively to the instructional programmes undertaken by the college. Its professional effectiveness can be evaluated by the time-lag between acquisition, processing and placing the books on the shelves for use, and the cost of these operations. There should be minimum time-lag at the minimum cost.

The librarian has to also acquaint the students with the use of reference material for obtaining required information. Pawan K. Gupta has offered useful hints for the collection of references from books, per-

iodicals and other sources and preparing a bibliography.

Turning to **information service**, we have comments from half a dozen contributors. C. B. Raizada has stressed the need to develop adequate *information service* in the libraries, which includes indexing, abstracting and current awareness service. It can be provided on demand as well as in anticipation. However, a sound *reference service* in a college library is a must. Such a development or capability in handling and dissemination of information would help the country in knowledge advancement or understanding, in decision making, in the transfer of technology, and in minimising duplication efforts and conservation of resources.

N. H. Barodia argues out that educational institutions should feed the intellect of the students, encourage the members of the faculty and thus serve the teaching and research needs of the academic community. The library has to function as 'a laboratory' of the parent body to carry out its objectives. The librarian needs to be concerned with the speedy communication of recorded knowledge to the users of the library.

FOR EFFICIENT PERFORMANCE

P. Tandon suggests that a large staff, both technical and non-technical, is needed for efficient job performance. On the basis of an empirical study of a large number of university and college libraries in the country, she has observed that most libraries are ill-equipped and under-

staffed. She pleads that educational authorities should think of providing uniform standards and qualified staff in all college libraries.

Naresh Boonlia stresses that the librarians have to be well-informed of the latest developments as well as needs of the users. But they have limited resources, and have to work under pressure. For efficient job performance, they need to be fed through a regular information service. Such service through a central or regional agency should provide them with ready-made book selection lists, class numbers and catalogue cards for books received in the college library, reading lists on different subjects, bibliography and documentation lists on subjects in demand.

A plea has also been made for starting *information centres at national and regional level*. S. R. Gupta and S. S. Verma have also advocated the start of college libraries development programme.

This useful collection can be read with profit both by practising librarians and the library academicians. There is, however, a strong need to lay down minimum standards for libraries of undergraduate, post-graduate or the university level. Much needs to be done to develop a library habit among the college students, so that they are able to maintain their reading interest in later life. The editors and contributors deserve compliments for taking up such a cause.

Dr. P. C. Bansal, an old and regular contributor with diverse academic interests is now settled in Delhi.

HIGHLIGHTS & SIDELIGHTS

(What the readers may expect in the future issues of IBC)

We are keen to follow up the valuable suggestion given by the Amrik Singh Founder-editor in this issue to try and publish (or reproduce) poems short stories or extracts from other books including fiction and thus make the IBC more interesting and colourful. For that

we must count on the co-operation of our contributors, reviewers and readers alike.

We also invite and welcome comments or articles about the writers from all regions and languages of India especially English. Also introductions of writers in other neighbouring, SARC Afro-Asian, NAM or Commonwealth, European and American countries so that IBC may act as an open window on the world-wide scene of arts and letters.

Social Psychology Of Sports

K. Bhaskaran (designed by Amiya Bhattacharya)

WILLS BOOK OF EXCELLENCE : FOOTBALL

Published by Orient Longman, Calcutta, (1986) pp. 192, price Rs. 120/-

Some Commentsn by O. P. Arya

During recent years and more so within the last few months, sports' coverage on the *Doordarshan* has increased several-folds. Recent live coverage of World Cup Soccer matches being played in Mexico, where no Indian team was playing, had been drawing viewers all over the country in an unprecedented manner and increasingly large numbers at all odd hours. TV had also been doing roaring business by way of advertising support by media moghuls.

Since all this has fitted well in the socio-economic dimension of India today, wherein business policies of the government or the efforts of media moghuls and the industrial community of the private sector have all converged through a national confluence, the torrential profile or impact of this new phenomenon is likely to continue through a dynamics of its own. It is no longer a one-time freak, disjointed and/or unnatural development.

AN ANTI-DOTE TO DRUGS

Of all the sports, FOOTBALL is the cheapest, easiest to follow game; and it has been spreading widely even in some less developed countries (LDCs). No wonder, it is getting more popular and commanding wider audiences, with very few adverse side-effects. In countries like India, it is drawing more and more youth into its orbit of attraction and influence, particularly in the universities. So it seems.

This reviewer has a hopeful feeling that such attraction towards games and sports' events automatically, even unintentionally, is beginning to act as a counter measure to the growing problem of drug addiction, which has made deep inroads amongst the Indian youth. Some social scientists feel concerned that the number of young addicts has reached more than fifty per cent of total number of undergraduates.

Another healthy dimension of the effect of sports and the allied literature that is being produced to keep the interests of the youth intact or alive, is the role such literature plays as yet another anti-dote to the proliferation of pornographic literature. Such literature has also been gaining ground and a large readership recently, especially since it is being consciously brought home to and with in the reach of the lower middle classes tossed in the throes of uneven development and gradual but stark depravity of semi-urban youth, whose exposure to nudity in Indian commercial films and elsewhere has been increasing.

I have tried to see this book in its wider setting. I doubt whether the author or the publisher have seen it in that light, in its socio-psychological perspective.

Though it has been written mainly to portray an analytical and historical account of the increasing mass interest in football (soccer) since the beginning of the twentieth century, this book has automatically helped the above two social causes or dimensions of appeal, namely as a part of counter-measure of natural but increasing drug abuse and the proliferating attraction of pornography for the Indian youth quite unintentionally but quite naturally.

The author seems to have been allotted roughly about 100 pages to project the vast panorama of football's history. The remaining 92 pages are taken up by photographs, both in colour and black and white, chosen by the author. It has been really fortunate that the book has been designed by Amiya Bhattacharaya, which work has been more than matched with the author's erudition, wit and choice of pictures.

The final product has turned out to be superb, even for browsers, but more so for serious readers, even those whose interest in soccer might be casual or newly found. The interest would become more permanent though, if books like these are written and continue to be published.

One begins to feel that if this or a similar book had been written and published in Hindi, Bengali, Tamil and other Indian languages, and even in some major European languages like German, French and Spanish also, it could command a world-wide audience and market. May be the next edition could be translated in other languages too.

Though the book is priced at Rs. 120/-, a rather high price for such a book and for our market, it has been almost sold out (a first edition of 10,000 copies). The publishers are planning to bring out another revised edition. In any case, when the ordinary middle-class *bhadr alok* can cheerfully spend Rs. 100/- for watching a two-hour live soccer play, or when they can sit back and watch the game on TV screens in the cosy drawing-rooms at their residences, the price of Rs. 120 - for such a pictorial book does not look too high a price.

Though this reviewer had finished reading this book in one sitting, there could be some readers, particularly the younger ones—who could be attracted by the chapter entitled "Architects of Excellence" (page 58). Many youth have been known and seem to have been inspired by the "heroes" of sports, as of history, and their heroic deeds. This fact itself would support the basic view about the multi-dimensional, wholesome and lasting effects of games and sports (particularly of soccer) and sports' literature on their young minds.

Bhaskaran's writing style, though it is not particularly geared to generate more lasting interest in soccer amongst the youth, actually achieves certain socio-psychological ends, which are achieved by his narration. In fact, the socio-psychological research studies of the effects of sports remain almost totally neglected by our senior social scientists.

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Of Books And Things—

Amrik Singh on Book Reviews

(In this piece, the founder editor of IBC further elaborates his views on the art of book-reviewing.)

In my article on Book Reviewing in the December 85 issue of the IBC, I had put forward a view that in our country, we have not yet developed the art of book reviewing. Satish Saberwal of the JNU wrote a note to me after reading that particular piece. He is the Book Reviews Editor of *Contributions to Indian Sociology*. Consequently, he has a good deal to do with potential reviewers and has first-hand experience of the kind of things that happen.

In his communication, he writes, "I agree with you generally. One difficulty I think is that the *professional* journals do not take book reviewing very seriously, and the "professional" *academics* often are low on skill." I think Satish Saberwal has put his finger on the pulse. Book reviewing is an art which, like any other art, has to be learnt. There are not many forums on which it can be practised. In any case, it is time that more and more of our academics learnt this art.

THE IBC 'AUDIENCE'

What is the essence of it? So much depends upon the 'audience' that one is writing for. In a professional journal, it is one kind of reading public. In a Sunday paper it is another kind. In the kind of journal IBC has tried to be, the reading public is somewhere between the two. While this journal is read by academics to quite an extent, it is also read by non-academics. Therefore a kind of middle path has to be steered.

A professional journal looks upon a new book from a somewhat deeper and a more professional angle than any other kind of review. It is not every kind of book that can be reviewed in a professional journal. Mainly it is scholarly books which are reviewed. But books are of all kinds and, therefore, it is not one uniform approach that can be adopted. It has to vary from book to book, especially in a journal like the IBC. As already stated, scholarly books require to be judged from the point of view of having advanced a new hypothesis or uncovered new data. The treatment, therefore, has to be searching and thorough.

In the case of Sunday papers, it is understood that while some academics may read the book reviews, it is essentially not addressed to them. The interests of the general reader have to be given paramount attention. If the review is searching and analytical, it is likely to put off the average reader who wants to skim over the surface and not grapple with the basic issues. This does not mean that he does not have to be taken seriously. He has to be taken seriously, but at a level different from that of the serious academics.

All this ultimately boils down to the tone that one adopts. In the case of the IBC, the tone has to be serious, though without being turgid. In a professional journal, the writing can be involved and scholarly, indeed addressed to those who already know. But this tone would be inappropriate for the IBC.

FOR INFORMATION AND IDEAS

The IBC is read partly by people who are interested in having an inter-disciplinary approach and partly by those who are serious minded but not scholarly. To the first category belong the academics. Almost two-thirds of the readership of the IBC has an academic background. The reader's own background may be history, but then he is interested in knowing a little about economics and sociology and psychology, and so on. He would not have the opportunity to turn to a scholarly journal relating to a particular field. That might happen, but rarely. By and large, he would derive his information and ideas from a journal like the IBC and therefore, the tone to be adopted need not be un-professional.

In the case of the serious-minded reader, and they constitute something like one third of the total readership, the tone adopted should be serious though not scholarly. There rises a problem, however, and that should not be brushed under the carpet.

A reader of a journal of book reviews wants to know something about a book which he has not read. It may be only rarely that he has already read the book, in which case he wishes to verify for himself whether his own reaction to the book was the one which is supported or disputed by the reviewer. One serious error which a reviewer can make is to say nothing about the book, and instead, offer only his own reactions. This is not only far from honest, it is also patently wrong.

The reader has not read the book. How does he judge for himself whether the reviewer is right or wrong? Before he can make up his mind, he must know what the author of the book says. In plain words, putting forward the author's point of view or line of argument is the first thing that a good reviewer should do. It is only after he has done that he is entitled to express his opinion. He may say that the job is well done or not well done, or under-done, or whatever else he wishes to say. But he cannot say it unless he has before-hand informed the reader about what the author of the book has had to say.

Of the thousands of reviews that I handled in the course of ten years, I found that not even 50 per cent of them observed this elementary precaution. This is elementary for the reason that before a book can be criticised or evaluated, it is imperative that the contents of the book must be described. I attach so much importance to it that sometimes I erred on the other side. In

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OF BOOKS AND THINGS—

my own reviews, I would quote from the book more often than was perhaps necessary.

A PERSONAL RECOLLECTION

In this connection, I recall my review of J. P. Naik's book published after his death. It was called *The Education Commission and After*. I quoted from the book very extensively. This was for the reason that, if space is not too much of a constraint, it is best to quote from the author himself. In this particular case, the best reaction came from Pakistan. Somebody saw that review and wrote to say that, though he would like to read the book and was trying to procure a copy (not an easy job), he had found the review rather illuminating. In a journal like the IBC, I feel that the closer one sticks to the text, the better it is.

There is also another reason for it. Books are expensive. Not everybody who reads a book can always have access to it. I am talking not only of the constraint of the time etc. but of being able to get hold of the book. After all, one does not read every book that one comes across; but wherever one has time and one wishes to study the book, one can either buy it or borrow it. Both are difficult options in our situation. Therefore, I felt that the more one could quote from a book, the better it was.

A NEW PROPOSITION FOR IBC

In fact, I have had a further idea also; but it was not possible to implement it, partly for lack of resources and partly for lack of time. The idea was simple. Out of the 10-12 books that are reviewed in each issue, why not take one or two books and quote from them *in extenso* as a separate item, of course with the permission of the publisher. If it is a book of poetry, some good poems can be quoted. If it is a biography, a particular chapter or incident can be reproduced. If it is a novel, a couple of pages which either project a character or depict a scene can be reproduced. There can be any number of possibilities.

The decision to reproduce a particular section should be made by the reviewer. Having read the book, he knows what deserves to stand out and for what reason. If such a thing could be done, *in addition to it being a journal of book reviews, IBC could also become a journal of general reading.*

I have discussed this proposition with a couple of friends. Not all of them have supported it. They have thought that should it be implemented, it would go against the journal to some extent. They have a point. At the same time, I am of the view that what will sell in the Indian market is a journal which does both things: it reviews books and does them as responsibly and objectively as the IBC does at present, and at the same time

gives copious excerpts from one or two of them. *In plain words, the format of the journal could undergo a change.* In addition to whatever is published now, there would be reproduction of material published in the original book. It could be a whole chapter, or part of a chapter, a story, indeed anything which can stand on its own as a unit of reading.

There is also another reason for the change of format. Out of a dozen books or so that are reviewed, only one or two belong to one particular discipline. If it is an economist, for example, who wishes to read a particular issue, he may not find more than one or two reviews of interest to him, i. e. of direct professional interest to him. There may be a couple of others in which he is marginally interested. Put another way, the reading matter which is of interest to him is not as extensive as he would like it to be.

Journals published in other countries have a much wider coverage. This is for the simple reason that a much larger number of books are published there. In any case those journals are professionally organised and there is no lack of resources. Every single issue therefore, gives substantial reading matter.

In our situation this is not so easy or feasible. Were additional reading matter to be provided in the manner mentioned above, the number of pages would become twice or even more than that. This would also attract some other readers and perhaps prompt some of the advertisers to extend greater patronage.

In a sense, the character of the journal as published at present would undergo a change. The question to raise is, would it be a change for the better or for worse? I do not have a clear answer to it, but the issue is presented here for whatever it is worth.

Dr. Amrik Singh, the founder editor of IBC, is a well known educationist. Readers, views on his suggestion above are invited.
—Editor)

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF SPORTS

One however feels the lack of several details, which such a well-researched book should have. May be, the double limitation of space had been resorted to, one by the large number of pictures; and the other, perhaps due to lack of adequate planning before the author was commissioned to write a book on soccer. Perhaps 25 additional pages of the book, mainly to increase the text with details, would have transmuted it into a more purposeful product.

May be, the next edition would see this book transformed into a better bargain, even if the price increases by say 25 per cent.

O. P. Arya, a former journalist attached to the Economic Times and a techno-economic consultant often cover books which do not reach our hands, as in this case.

TOWARDS A NATIONAL BOOK POLICY

Promotion Of Creative Writing

(The scenario in Independent India)

"Creativity, both scientific and artistic, depends on imagination."

That is how part VII of the report of the Working Group constituted by the National Book Development Council for evolving a National Book Policy starts. But the problem is one which seems to have eluded the Working Group as well. How does one promote 'imagination'? Or where does 'imagination' emanate from? And how? Can it be stimulated, prompted or promoted by some material conditions or concessions and facilities, as the Working Group has felt and recommended?

There is no doubt that the Working Group has made some worth-while and practical, at the same time long overdue suggestions to improve the lot of creative writers and to protect their interests. But will these measures alone, if and when implemented, generate 'imagination' in response to the challenges of the day? We leave these questions or misgivings (about the policy in the making) with our readers to ponder over.

However, there is something more important in the approach of the Working Group which must receive our attention. Let us first quote from the report itself (part VII):

"India with its variegated ecology, cultural mosaic and rich tradition, has for thousands of years released the creative energy which has caught the imagination of the world. Today, due to a break between the cultural legacy and the contemporary life patterns, *creative literature has failed to mirror the authentic and dynamic Indian personality*. (Italics to emphasise the point-Ed.) Viewing Indian life through the narrow prism of a middle class outlook, this literature has failed to touch the marginal, the down-trodden and the tribal, and capitalise on their creative potential. An oral historian, an instant composer, a creative narrator, and oral interpreter of an oral text are as much creative as a poet, dramatist, or a fiction writer. But as the enduring aspects of traditional Indian world-view do not mingle and mesh with the contemporary sensitivities, the stream of creativity tends to dry up.

"It is in this context that creative writing grows anaemic in India. The Indian author today does not live in *the exciting times of the freedom struggle* which provided him with a cause, which was a satisfaction in itself. It created a Tagore and an Iqbal, a Premchand and a Subramaniam Bharati. Today's disjunction from the sources of traditional cultural values, pressure for building a trans-national image of contemporaneity which

comes into instant conflict with the need to reflect the life style of the victims of history trying to assert themselves as subjects of history, has added to the economic plight of the author. Frustration and lack of encouragement are eating into the vitals of creative writing. The large illiterate population in the country, the growing declining reading habit among the literate and the educated, the avarice of certain publishers running after a quick return, and the prevailing general apathy to the problems of the writer make the plight of the Indian author unhappy.

"There is hardly a creative writer of merit who can live on his earning as an author. An author, in order to earn his living, must either take up a service or join a profession, thus making writing only a part-time venture. In the process he gets further debilitated and even lost to creative writing for good....."

Now where does the rub lie? Is it correct to say (as the report asserts) that "The Indian author today does not live in the *exciting times of the freedom struggle* which provided him with a cause which was a satisfaction in itself"?

We wonder whether most contemporary authors, our creative writers, would also swallow such a sweeping verdict. What elements make the so-called "exciting times"? When a colonial people protest and agitate or struggle against an alien power? Or when the people become free? Do the '*exciting times*' end or fade away as soon as the foreign power is compelled to pack up and leave? Once that happens, do we then enter into a phase of 'placid' or 'dull and routine' and 'boring' sort of times? Are there no excitements or challenges and thrills in the era of freedom or *swarajya*, in the reconstruction of a stunted economy, the regeneration of an age-old social order or the creation of a new set of values for the benefit and welfare of millions of human beings in a new, comparatively more free and more egalitarian, more secular and just society?

As the great poet had said "Where the mind is free....." and so no. Have we reached that haven already? Or do we, more specifically do our creative writres. feel that their battle is done, and now they can rest on their oars?

If we look around ourselves, we can see countless signs and symptoms of change, of social transformation, of new types of conflicts and struggles, the every day strains of change sometimes forceful and violent, but generally peaceful and imperceptible and non-violent.

India is under transition. There is no doubt about it. Its face and features and the very soul of India as represented in the new values of life, new dreams and ambitions of the growing generations are changing by the hour. And yet, we have a group of learned and creative persons, or critics, the wise-men of the day, who seem to think otherwise and declare that "*exciting times*" are no more.

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PROMOTION OF CREATIVE WRITING—

We may be forgiven if we have misunderstood the authors of the Report. Perhaps what they really mean is that "the Indian author today" is not moved by the excitement around him. He does not see it or feel it. He is not a part of it. He is not a witness. Perhaps he has become immune to the on-going change, or isolated from the social reality around him. (Perhaps the women writers are less subject to this charge. What with so much of feminist literature coming forth, and hundreds of women writers coming to the fore. One does not know really). But the reasons are not only what the Working Group has tried to enumerate as the 'disjunction' (distancing from old values) or the pressure of ambition of being transnational or the writers' economic plight, and so on.

Perhaps the reason for this feeling of 'non-excitement' and 'non-involvement' lies in a foregoing statement by the Group where it has referred to the fact or aspect of the creative writers "viewing Indian life through the narrow prism of a middle class outlook" and their failure to see or appreciate the existence (so full of struggle and tension) of "the marginal, the down-trodden and the tribal" sections of society. The 'middle class' outlook and the 'middle class' distance from the reality of the down-to-earth lives and struggles of the working people—that is what seems to be wrong with the susceptibilities or capabilities and creative powers of our creative writers. That is where their imagination fails them.

One wonders whether imagination as such and creative writing relevant and meaningful for our times and of the same calibre as the literature created by Tagore, Iqbal, Premchand and Bharati can be fostered only by providing material facilities or "an umbrella of legal and economic security" to our writers.

Would it not be more correct and realistic to say that their creative writing or their 'imagination' would be stimulated by their close observation and association, if not active participation, with the every-day struggles of the common people, the marginal, down-trodden sections, the untouchables and tribals. That is indeed where the inspiration and sympathy of the struggling writers of the pre-independence era lay, whatever their style or ecological make-up. That is what made their writings great.

Or should we wait until a new generation of writers also emerges from the ranks of the struggling humanity? Perhaps they will not have to wait for or borrow imagination from somewhere outside their own experiences and observations.

Let us hope that this comment along with the above extract from the Report of the Working Group on the National Book Policy will evince some response from our readers. We plan to publish other extracts from the report and recommendations of the Working Group in subsequent issues of IBC to promote widespread discussion.

—Editors

The Task Is Yet Himalayan**A preliminary report on a threatened Eco-system**

"The Himalayan eco-system is one of the most important and most threatened of life-support systems on earth. In the shadow of the Himalayas, live more than 159 million people, some of them the poorest in the world. The rivers which arise in the Himalayas and flow into the wide Indo-Gangetic plain, support the essential agriculture which sustains these people. The population pressure on land and its mounting demand for fuel and fodder has already denuded areas of the Himalayan ranges—the life-line of India. The rate at which the forests are disappearing is much faster than the rate of reforestation."

These are the opening lines of the preface by M. L. Dewan, an environmental scientist, to a report entitled *People's Participation in Himalayan Eco-system Development* published by the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi (1986). The programme for protecting the Himalayan Eco-system has been recently designed and initiated by the Centre; and many non-government organisations (NGO's) have since been involved in the process of arousing human interest and promoting nec-

essary measures at the field or watershed level. The concerned departments or agencies of the Government of India have also lent their helping hand in the gigantic and long-term task.

WHY HIMALAYAS ?

That is the question posed in chapter 2 of the Report under the caption "The Plight of Himalayas." We can do no better than to reproduce its opening paragraph or two, which describe the present situation.

"The Himalayas have exercised a great influence on the environmental conditions of northern India and the people living in the Indo-Gangetic Plains. It has prevented the monsoon winds from crossing over to Tibet and forced them to precipitate most of the moisture on the Indian side in the form of rain and snow. It has also acted as a formidable barrier range and presented free migration of the fauna and flora and of human culture across it. The complex geological history of the Himalayas and the tectonic stress which heaved up this range...geologically the youngest in the earth's history.....have contributed to the aggravating of the earth's dynamic process of weathering, erosion, mass wastage, seismicity, and so on, which effect and modify the natural environment. (continued next page)

THE TASK IS YET HIMALAYAN—

"The developmental activities of man in the area, like the construction of high dams and rocks, exploration for minerals and mining activity, and the quest for arable land have to face the challenge of these intensified dynamic processes...commonly referred to as geological hazards. The human interference in the natural environmental conditions often gives these dynamic processes catastrophic proportions, leading to disasters and irreparable damage to the balance of eco-system. It is, therefore, necessary to acquire a better understanding and appreciation of the natural dynamic processes of the earth and a better integration of man and his activities into his environment so that the natural balances of the eco-system of the Himalayas is not destroyed.....

"With the development of the means of communications in the region, many of its remote parts have now become accessible and are being systematically investigated and inhabited due to pressure of population. These developmental activities have interfered with the natural ecosystem of this range, and caused deterioration in the environment by aggravating the natural dynamic processes of the earth. These dynamic processes are already in a more active state in the region because of certain geological, geo-dynamical, weathering, erosion and seismic processes.

"The developmental activities in the Himalayas have to face the challenge of these geological hazards and in some cases the developmental activities such as the impounding of large reservoirs of water, tunnelling operations and the addition of silt load of rivers by road-cutting lead to the intensification of the natural dynamic process.

"Though the knowledge about the fragility of the Himalayas is well-known, the developmental activities did not take into account this aspect. The vast Himalayan region that extends from Jammu and Ksshmir in the west to Arnunchal Pradesh in the east has been under severe deforestation due to various developmental activities."

The data of the **Forest Area Lost** in the country during the last 25 years highlight the fact that over 4, 136 thousand hectares of forest land (out of a total of 75, 155 thousand hectares) have been lost or converted to other forms of land use, more than half or 2, 507 thousand hectares under agriculture. Hydro-electric projects have also taken over or sub-merged sizable chunks of the forest lands.

The increasing and growing in-roads into the forest cover have also brought about further "damage" in the form of floods which "annually affect an area of about 8.00 m hectares of the Gangatic plain, including some 3.5 m hectares of cropped land." The Report stresses that:—

"Deforestation caused by the need for domestic fuel and timber supplies and live-stock fodder, over-gra-

zing of natural grasslands, indiscriminate cultivation on steep slopes combined with poor agricultural practices and badly designed roads, all contribute to the general ecological decline observed in many parts of the Himalayas. The outcome of these activities is increasing soil erosion which threatens the productive capacity of habitable areas of the Himalayan range and at the same time increases flash flooding and early reservoir siltation as indicated earlier.

"The technical solutions to improved land-use in the hills are well-known and have been developed through research carried out at the Forest Research Institute, Dehradun and the Central Soil Conservation and Training Institute, also at Dehradun and at leading agricultural universities in each of the Himalayan states. The overall approach to the solution of these problems is, therefore, known; but so far, little experience has been gained in large-scale implementation of the detailed technical recommendations, particularly when involving local population in these development efforts."

As the report suggests :

"In the Himalayas and foot-hills, live about 150 million people and a total about 300 million people live in Himalayan mountain area and Himalayan Sediment Area. It is important that a comprehensive effort to protect the production base in the Indian Himalayas and plains by reducing soil losses and by preserving the ecological balance be made urgently. The most important task of the programme is to develop and apply or stimulate application of a technical package of practices for watershed management to develop or strengthen an appropriate infras-structure (Government has decided to establish a Himalayan Institute for Conservation and Development in the Seventh Five Year plan) to further improve the social, political and public policy on environment in the Himalayas.

The technical measures for conservation and development are essentially :

- (a) Tree planting and reforestation.
- (b) Water harvesting.
- (c) Terraces and other engineering structures.
- (d) Agronomic, grassland and pasture development and other socio-economic measures for conservation and management of the soil."

Note based on the material received through courtesy of Dr M. L. Dewan, Programme Coordinator, Himalayan 'Eco-system, Development Cell of the Centre for Policy Research. (by Dr. H. S. Sharma and B. Hooja)

A Correction (about Dr. Devahuti)

At page 176 (in the footnote) of this issue and on page 125 (Vol XI No. 6 for June 1986) it is mentioned that Dr. Devahuti is working in the JLN university. Actually she is in the Delhi University. We regret the mistake.
—Editor)

City Improvement Trust

BHARATPUR

अधिसूचना

सर्वसाधारण को सूचित किया जाता है कि राजस्थान नगर सुधार अधिनियम 1959 की धारा 32 [1] के अन्तर्गत राजकीय अधिसूचना संख्या प. 15 [3] न. वि. आ./75 दिनांक 15-9-86 के द्वारा नगर विकास न्यास, भरतपुर की योजना संख्या 3 के लिए निम्नांकित चतुर्दिशक सीमाओं के क्षेत्र को अधिसूचित किया गया है :-

उत्तर :- रेलवे सीमा ।

दक्षिण :- सरक्यूलर रोड ।

पूर्व :- रीको औद्योगिक क्षेत्र रोड, रेलवे लाइन तक ।

पश्चिम :- शमशान घाट नई मण्डी ।

इस योजना का अनुमानित क्षेत्रफल 847 बीघा है । उक्त योजना के क्षेत्र का विवरण एवं राजस्व मानचित्र नगर विकास न्यास कार्यालय भरतपुर में उपलब्ध है जिसे किसी भी कार्य दिवस में सांय: 3.00 बजे से 5.00 बजे तक देखा जा सकता है । इस प्रस्तावित योजना के सम्बन्ध में यदि किसी व्यक्ति को कोई आपत्ति हो अथवा उसे कोई सुझाव या राय देनी हो, तो वह उक्त तिथि से 60 दिवस की अवधि में नगर विकास न्यास, भरतपुर के कार्यालय में भेज सकता है/व्यक्तिगत रूप से उपस्थित होकर दे सकता है । उक्त अवधि के पश्चात् दी गई किसी भी आपत्ति अथवा सुझाव पर कोई विचार नहीं किया जावेगा ।

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R S W C

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6. Perception—Bimal Krishna Motilal
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State Of The Children (1985)

Below some extracts from THE STATE OF THE CHILDREN (1985) Part I—Statement by James P. Grant, Director, United Nations' Children Fund (UNICEF). (pp. 16-21) are of considerable sociological relevance and offer to the social activists, political administrators and acade-

ties of the developing world are suffering from the backlash of the worst economic recession since the 1930s. Rising protectionism, and higher interest rates in the industrialized nations have reduced the third world's earnings and deepened its debts. The real incomes for the majority of nations in Latin America and the Caribbean fell in 17 out of 19 countries during 1983, and in Africa as a whole dropped by over 5 percent) and in Africa now adds to the burden of a recession which has reduced per capita incomes by 2.4 percent a year in 1981 and 1982). In Asia, where many of the most populous nations are more severely affected by recession in the west, average incomes grew by only 1 percent a year in 1981-1982, more slowly than in the 1970s.

UNICEF has published a specially commissioned study—from the point of view of the children of the world's nations. The study points out that the poorer a family is, the greater percentage of its income spent on necessities—food, water, fuel, health care. Any fall in that income therefore, means a fall in the standard of life itself. And in such circumstances, it is the development of young children which are most at risk.

And the hardship of falling incomes, the social services are the first to suffer from cut-backs in government spending. Rising debts, or international monetary policy may enforce, on the poorest who are most dependent on the social services.

One conclusion of the study was, therefore, that the main impact of recession in developing countries, is being borne by those least able to bear it, because they have neither the political muscle to prevent it, nor the economic fat to absorb it.

Hard facts are known about the effect of all this on the developing world — and that in itself is evidence of how much has been taken into account when calculating recessions cost.... A country's pretensions towards civilization cannot long allow the blows to be borne by its poorest women and children. It is an immutable law that the poor must always suffer most when times become harder. Several times this century, we have seen what governments can do—when the will is there—to protect the most vulnerable members of human society from the most serious economic hardship.

(Over-leaf)

In acknowledging with grateful thanks the (oral) permission to use the extracts from the UNICEF—State of the World's Children (1985) above, we would also like to pay our compliments to Ms. P. Hooja (Jaipur) and Mr. David P. Haxton UNICEF Regional Director for Central Asia, based in Delhi who seem to have instilled a new spirit in various UNICEF activities in India during recent months.

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Come September !

India is a land of teeming millions. Mostly poor, lean and hungry, ill-fed, ill-clothed and illiterate; yet lively and vibrant masses. Though unable to read, most of them carry on their shoulders wise heads, full of ancient wisdom and experience. When the occasions come, they celebrate great days of their *sants* and *avatars* through popular festivals.

To that traditional long list of auspicious days and festivals, we have added many new celebrations, so that every month, if not every week, we evoke and pay our homage to one celebrity or the other. Republic Day, Independence Day, Army, Air Force or Navy Days, Children's Day, Women's Day, Human Rights Day, U. N. Day etc. In spite of our poverty, we have become a nation of festival-makers.

TEACHERS' DAY

The educated elite, especially those in the high school or higher education culture, celebrate the Teachers' Day on 5th September, the birth-day of the then President of India, the scholar-philosopher Dr. Radhakrishnan, when this annual day was first initiated. On 5th September, teachers do not take classes. They sit back and rest, as they are honoured. Students manage their own affairs themselves. Throughout the country, functions are held; citations read out; awards handed over to the best teachers. But this exercise is largely limited to the formalised system of education and in the urban or metropolitan areas, if not confined to the state capitals.

(contd. overleaf III column)

The State Of The Children (1985)

We, present below some extracts from THE STATE OF THE WORLD'S CHILDREN (1985) Part I--Statement by James P. Grant, Executive Director, United Nations' Children Fund (UNICEF), (pp. 16-21) These extracts are of considerable sociological relevance and offer some challenges to the social activists, political administrators and academics alike.

"Large areas of the developing world are suffering from the backlash of the world's longest economic recession since the 1930s. Rising protectionism, falling imports, and higher interest rates in the industrialized nations have eroded the third world's earnings and deepened its debts. The result is a fall in real incomes for the majority of nations in Latin America (where average per capita incomes fell in 17 out of 19 countries during 1983, and GNP in the region as a whole dropped by over 5 percent) and in Africa (where drought now adds to the burden of a recession which has reduced already low average incomes by 2.4 percent a year in 1981 and 1982). In low income Asia, where many of the most populous nations are more insulated from the effects of recession in the west, average incomes grew by less than 2 percent a year in 1981-1982, more slowly than in the 1970s.

"This year (1985) UNICEF has published a specially commissioned study of the recession—from the point of view of the children of the world's poorest communities. The study points out that the poorer a family is, the higher the percentage of its income spent on necessities—food, water, fuel and health care. Any fall in that income therefore, means a fall in the capability to sustain life itself. And in such circumstances, it is the developing minds and bodies of young children which are most at risk.

"To compound the hardship of falling incomes, the social services have often been the first to suffer from cut-backs in government spending which recession, debts, or international monetary policy may enforce. And it is again the poorest who are most dependent on the social services.

"The conclusion of the study was, therefore, that the main impact of recession, in the developing countries, is being borne by those least able to sustain it—simply because they have neither the political muscle to prevent it, nor the economic fat to absorb it.

"Very few hard facts are known about the effect of all this on the children of the developing world – and that in itself is evidence of how little they are taken into account when calculating recessions cost.... A world which has pretensions towards civilization cannot long allow the severest economic blows to be borne by its poorest women and children. And it is not an immutable law that the poor must always suffer most when hard times become harder. Several times this century, we have seen examples of what governments can do—when the will is there—to protect the most vulnerable members of human society from the most serious consequences of economic hardship.

(Over-leaf)

While acknowledging with grateful thanks the (oral) permission to reproduce some extracts from the UNICEF—State of the World's Children (Report) 1985, as above, we would also like to pay our compliments to Ms. Anupama Rao (Jaipur) and Mr. David P. Haxton UNICEF Regional Director for South Central Asia, based in Delhi who seem to have instilled a new optimism, in the various UNICEF activities in India during recent months.

SAFETY NET

"Out of economic collapse of the 1930's, for example, arose the *New Deal* in the United States and the strengthening of the welfare systems in many European countries. Again in the 1940s, war brought destruction and shortages which could have pushed many more Europeans into destitution.

"But because governments made optimum use of available resources, and made it a wartime priority to ensure a basic level of food and health care for their populations, starvation and destitution was kept to a minimum. In the United Kingdom, for example, the overall level of health and nutrition among the nation's children was maintained at a higher level in the scarcity years of 1940-1945 than in the immediate pre-war or post-war periods when resources were more abundant.

"Since the 1930s, a safety net has therefore been in place in the industrialized world. And however imperfect it may be, it protects the majority of the vulnerable from falling into destitution. Now, the time has come to fashion the first strands of such a safety net for the poorest and most vulnerable families of the developing world families who live in the permanent but silent emergency of poverty and under-development, families who each year suffer the deaths of 15 million of their children.

"For those families whose standard of living does not allow for the normal development of their children—whether the cause be economic recession or pre-existing poverty—a minimum protection should be provided against the worst effects of economic deprivation. And that can now be achieved at a very low cost to the world community.

"The case for such a safety net is a case which rests not only on common humanity but also on common sense. The growth of human brain is 90 percent complete by the time a child is four years old. Poor growth during those vital vulnerable years usually means that the child will never fulfil the mental and physical potential with which he or she was born. Many times it has been argued and demonstrated that it is a nation's human resources which are the key to its social and economic progress and that investment in people makes economic sense. In its 1980 World Development Report, for example, the World Bank concluded that the right kind of social investment in such things as primary education and health care can yield an average economic return of upto 25 percent a year—far higher than can be expected from most investments in physical goods. It, therefore, makes neither economic nor political sense to allow children—the human resources of the future—to grow up with an impaired ability to contribute to and benefit from their nation's development.

THE AIM

"A safety net woven from the strands of minimum wages, unemployment pay, sickness benefit, and family allowances is, unfortunately, some way into the future for most people in the developing world. But a more elementary safety net of minimum food entitlements, primary health care, elementary education, safe sanitation and clean water could be put in place by most developing nations—if they can suspend one corner of that net on fair and stable policies of international trade and aid.

"The subject of this report, as of its two predecessors, is an even more basic, more modest immediate goal... that a combination of changing knowledge and circumstance has opened up the possibility of providing a minimum safety net of the most basic protection for the growing minds and bodies of the world's most vulnerable children. The techniques are known. The organizational capacity is, broadly speaking, in

(Continued on next page)

Come September (contd.)

How many among us really remember or recall the scholarly personality or many other attributes of Dr. Radhakrishnan ? How many care to find out what he wrote ? Or what gems of thought or wisdom he put across ? How well is he known for his writings and speeches ? For his philosophy ?

The Teachers' Day celebration, however, is a part of our ancient surviving tradition under which teachers have always been respected and honoured, next to one's own parents. In some ways, perhaps the teachers have a better or higher place of regard and reverence.

The *Guru* has always had his place in our culture not only on a high pedestal or *asan*, but in the living society and in command of day-to-day affairs of the community. Right from the misty days of mythology or the epics and throughout history, the *Guru* has been a teacher and a preceptor, one who could see beyond the horizon, lay down the law and show the path. Both in temporal matters and in non-secular affairs. How many changes in our codes and laws have been brought about by the many *gurus* ? How many movements of social or religious reforms led by them ? How many sects or seats of learning and worship have been founded thus ?

GURU SHISHYA PRAMPARA

Guru-Shishya prampara has also been a living tradition in our society, the anchor of some living faiths. Sages and seers, *rishis* and *munis*, *gurus* and *sants*, this country has had a long and varied, colourful and crowded procession of them. Through them and through their teachings (or preachings and prayers) successive generations of diverse communities were shown and taught the right way, basically the way of acceptance and mutual adjustment, the way also leading to an ever-fresh search for some higher and nobler values or goals of life.

That is how the ancient Indian people and our ancestors picked up

(Continued on next page)

place. The costs, both politically and financially are, absolutely minimal in relation to the benefits such protection would bring.

"In short, we are faced not with a grandiose long-term plan dependent upon a thousand doubtful premises, but with a few specific tasks which most nations could realistically expect to achieve within the next few years. Specifically, all families could be enabled to use ORT, (oral rehydration therapy) all children could be immunized, all mothers could become aware of the importance of breast-feeding and proper weaning, and almost all parents could have the means and the knowledge to prevent malnutrition through the monitoring of their children's growth...

"In the developing world, it is clear that the realization of this present potential depends, more than anything else, on the *political commitment of a nation's leadership and the mobilization of all its organized resources*. But many nations will also still require financial and practical help—especially in the form of foreign exchange. The industrialized world, therefore, also has an opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to the world's children..."

Come September—

(Continued from opp. page)

their knowledge, spiritual or scientific, about life and nature, about day-to-day practical affairs, even manual skills through arts and crafts. That was (and remains) the tradition or an informal system of learning to be and to do. Many of these learned teachers have left their imprint on the minds of all of us, whatever community or region, or religious faith or sect we may belong to.

CHAITANYA & BHAKTI MOVEMENT

Perhaps it would be appropriate if, looking back at the colourful panorama of our cultural and spiritual traditions, we try and evaluate the life and work of the stalwarts of the *Bhakti*, movement in the middle ages in the above light and judge them more as path-finders or teachers than just poets or singers. In the same spirit, we offer a short biographical sketch about Chaitanya whose birth centenary was celebrated early this year, and who, as the pioneer of a new cult or tradition, has a lasting place in the renaissance of Bengal and its neighbouring parts. There is also a short note on *Bhakti* movement. We also take a quick random look at our current not to bright education scene.

WAR AND PEACE

September brings to mind many old memories, sweet and bitter.

Most of us belong to that generation which cannot forget the circumstances in which the second world war began, officially and formally in September 1939. How ultimately it brought about devastation and bloodshed on a massive scale in many theatres of war and unprecedented toll of suffering and misery for millions of the ordinary people. The war also resulted in significant changes in the political, economic, social and cultural institutions throughout the world. Like many other wars, this was also meant to be a war to end all wars. True, since 1945, no major world war has taken place. But there have been hundreds of conflicts and conflagrations, full of fury and fire, terror and destruction resulting in heavy losses of human life and material wealth.

HOPE

The human species, however, is optimistic by nature. In the midst of death and destruction, we continue to dream and struggle for a new social order, a new world order of peace and harmony and social justice, as human-kind has done since the beginning of historical times. We open this issue with a sort of a prayer or affirmation of hope for a new world order from the heart of a dedicated educationist and humanist, a person committed to the cause of human welfare, Prof. Prem Kripal. He was long associa-

ted with the UNESCO, one of the active instruments to counteract the ideologies of war and to foster a new awakening about a new world order right from its start. In lines full of anguish and hope, he draws the outlines of his dreams of tomorrow.

There are many more items in the same or similar vein, of hope mixed with the suspense of doubt,

AND HARMONY

September also brings to my mind yet another day of mild sunshine but impending storm in that turbulent and restless year of 1947, when it seemed that the troubles and travails of the Indian people had not ended with the blood-soaked dawn of freedom. While millions, victims of political lust and material avarice, were migrating across the newly drawn frontiers of fear, mistrust and suspicion, and while the Mahatma walked through a wasteland of human despair, a fresh round of trouble, of loot and arson and murder, suddenly erupted in the heart of India, in the busy and posh market place of New Delhi. Fortunately, Nehru was there to brave the blind fury of mobs misled by angry fanatics and vengeance-seekers. He was bold and strong to ride the tiger and try to tame it before it became wild, the tiger of communal hatred. It had needed Gandhi's supreme sacrifice to cool down the tempers and let reason reign once again. But did we bury the devil? Could we? Have we got rid of the evil forces of communalism? By no means yet. For every year, day in and day out, the demon, of fear, doubt and jealousy which has got hold of our minds and passions demands and receives its human sacrifice,

In August at Chandigarh, the salubrious and stylish seat of three administrations, including the restless and terror-stricken Punjab, a select group of some of the foremost scholars and intellectuals of the land met together to explore or discover the varied facets of the beast. Extracts from a summary of their report on communalism are also appended to this issue. Once again, we regret the delay.

—Editor

Sept.-Oct. 1986

—Prem Kirpal

A POET'S PLEA—

TOWARD A NEW WORLD ORDER

(A poem presented to the Conference on Art and Reality in Vancouver, Canada, August 1982)

Do we need a new World Order ?

Surely we do—
 because the present is a world without order,
 a mere semblance of governmental action
 or inaction
 to get the better of each other
 as groups, nations and ruling elites.

In this mad world of the 'United Nations',
 united only in fear and suspicion,
 hating themselves and each other,
 Yet shouting for peace
 while living in discord and drifting to war

of ultimate end,
 without any serious thought of new beginnings,
 In this mad world
 now confronted with choice between survival and

destruction,
 between life's great potentials and its utter negations,
 between Mammon's sway of Matter and beckoning
 spirituality

In this decisive moment of history.
 we must choose aright—
 and we will, because our best is always in the hour
 of doom !

How can many strange, discordant, selfish entities,
 goaded relentlessly on the perilous path
 by man's greed and arrogance, supported by malign
 power-structures

of national pride and industrial might—
 How can such pitiful creatures and groups
 shed off their narrow possessive egos
 and plunge into the great big ocean that is WE ?

This is the question ?

How can Humanity become Mankind and We,
 know, understand and feel for each other,
 be themselves and also be keepers of their brothers,
 develop their precious particular cultural entities
 in the universality of the spirit and its values
 to live ardently and transcend boldly ?

This is the Challenge !

The hour is come when it must be met—
 at least a start made in the right direction
 with clarity and sincerity
 and abundance of hope, faith and courage,
 in that indomitable spirit of resolve and victory
 which admits no doubt and timidity.

To find the right direction ?

We must first discard myths, illusions and lies of the
 past

perpetrated by those who cling to their past
 of continuing greed, privilege and power,
 while indulging in the rhetoric of change,
 of aid, cooperation, even partnership
 among the rich and the deprived !

The great myth
 is the pursuit of peace in both mind and action,
 while arming for war and violence,
 and harbouring increasing fear and aggression.

Alas, this is also glaringly evident
 in my own country
 where Gandhi lived and the Buddha preached !

The pathetic illusion
 is the way and measure of development,
 about which statesmen debate and scholars write
 and the United Nations adopt endless resolves,
 while the face of poverty
 becomes more and more wretched,
 and more children are without bread and schooling.

The downright lie
 is the proclamation of freedom
 of nations, peoples and individuals,
 and promise of human rights and specific freedoms—
 While the spirit of man is caged and depressed,
 and his body groans in chains
 even more tighter now than at Rousseau's lament.

The roots and fruits of peace,
 not merely its protecting defences,
 must be sought and nurtured
 in the mind and heart of man,
 and in the health and pursuits of his society,
 in courage, confidence and trust
 which can rid us of the demons of destruction.

The meaning and essence of Development
 lie in the choice and will of developing communities
 in their pursuit of well-being and happiness,
 from their own roots and ideals,
 helped by true generosity and justice,
 dedication of leaders and faith of followers,
 and the music of real giving and receiving.

Freedom of body, mind and spirit,
 and free scope of choice and action,
 chastened by reason and restraint,
 enriched by values of belief and conduct,
 strengthened by love and compassion of fellow-beings
 determine the quality of being and becoming
 and the essence of life's meaning !

The way to Peace
 is long and tortuous !

(contd.)

Demons of destruction lie within
and lurk in the endless stream of history.
Deep concern, effort and awareness
fortified by reason and heedfulness
can lead us on to the bliss of peace.

The path of development
should steer away from alien tracks,
find fulfilment in its own resources
of material ingenuity and spiritual entity,
in physical well-being and mind's serenity,
in the magic of spontaneous giving and graceful
receiving,
in ceaseless effort and patient waiting !

The vistas of Freedom
remain blurred and recede afar
with mounting propaganda and maze of communi-
cations
and increasing exploitation of many forms;
Freedom of mind and spirit has no limits,
but the scope of free action is narrowed and clamped
by the power of the State and the claims of the
Nation.

How should we construct the new World Order
the need for which is patent and pressing ?

The threat of death and disaster is close;
there are also signs of new awakening.
The hour of doom is not yet struck;
but the messengers of death lurk around.
Let us sound the drum of utmost creativity !

The way to the New World Order
of peace, development and light
is long and winding, thorny and hard,
over familiar land and strange paths,
through deep abyss and lofty heights,
in placid vales and stormy blights
of hope and despair through days and nights.

To reach the Great Destination
five stars are sure and benign—
Appropriateness of *Education*,
the call and pursuit of *Arts and Culture*,
choice and practice of *Human Values*,
the power and guidance of some strong *Faith*,
and a new *Religion of all Mankind* !

With these five big bright stars
of hope and promise,
Let us travel in joy and ecstasy
from this Conference on Art and Reality,
toward a new art of living
and the essence of True Reality
on the resplendent road of art and culture
shared together in a new World Order
of peace, freedom and life's great quality !

After a varied and interesting career as an educationist – administrator and a long fruitful tenure with the UNESCO at Paris, Dr. Prem Kirpal now leads the life of a respected senior citizen of Delhi, active in many fields including as an educational advisor and President of the International Educational Consortium. But perhaps he enjoys nothing more than his hobbies of painting and poetry.

New Quest

A Bi-Monthly Indian Journal of Ideas and Criticism

Editors : M. P. Rege, M. V. Namjoshi

Literary Editor : M. L. Raina

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Sept.-Oct. 1986

Between Tradition & Modernity

J. C. Heesterman

THE INNER CONFLICT OF TRADITION

Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship and Society

Oxford University Press, Delhi (1985) pp. 225, Price Rs. 175/-

Reviewed by K. N. Sharma

All the essays in the collection are bound together by a highly provocative and challenging thesis for understanding the uniqueness of Indian civilisation.

Heesterman asserts that Indian civilization cannot be understood in terms of any single integrative unitary principle, whether it is Dumont's all-encompassing hierarchy (p. 13) or Biardeau's sacrifice (*Yajna*) (p. 81).

Heesterman's thesis is that Indian system is 'diachotomous' (p. 14) based on 'two opposite and irreconcilable principles of organization, the one stressing inter-dependence, and the other independence' (p. 13). The king represents inter-dependence in the society, while the *brahman* represents a total independence from the society. The 'kingly' order immanent in social relations and the transcendent brahmanical order are irreconcilably opposed to each other (p. 14). The king has power; but he derives his authority from the *brahman* who represents the transcendental order and, therefore, has to remain beyond the pale of the society.

The prime example of this kind of legitimation in ancient India is that of Ashoka. By leaning on transcendent Buddhist-inspired *dharma*, he tried to establish a 'universalistic supra-personal unity'. (p. 20)

The Mughal empire remained based on personal relations between the Mughal ruler and a number of locally influential *rajas*, *jagirdars* etc. It carried on the traditional 'segmentary diffusion'. It could never achieve its authority from any transcendental source. Aurangzeb tried to accomplish it through Islam, but failed.

HEESTERMAN THESIS TOWARDS MODERNITY

As against these twin basic weaknesses of Mughal empire, the British Indian government, the first carrier of modernity, had the advantage of introducing an 'impersonal code of principles and rules' and it succeeded in doing so because its center was outside India.' By implication Heesterman holds that its legitimacy was derived from its transcendence over Indian society.

Modernity requires an impersonal 'horizontal' pattern of distribution, which emancipates the individual from the personal bonds of 'vertical' hierarchic inter-dependence characterizing the "little kingdom". "Obviously, a colonial government cannot allow this inter-penetration (of the horizontal and vertical orders to come about, since that would irredeemably impair its position, (like that of the *brahman* involving in the social order). When it comes to that point, it can only react by total withdrawal, as indeed happened." (p. 23)

It is in this situation that Gandhi, the renouncer, (representing the brahmanical order of withdrawal) managed to organise both the 'vertical' demands of the segmentary order and the conflicting need of 'horizontal' unity (p. 24), by remoulding the Indian National Congress. Thus he succeeded in setting up the institutional framework for dealing with the traditional conflict in its modern incarnation (p. 25). But in modernity, authority and legitimation are no longer transcendental. It has fundamentally changed the 'inner conflict of tradition' by carrying it over into the sphere of a single explosive reality. (p. 25)

HEESTERMAN THESIS - SOME COMMENTS

The crucial elements in the above thesis of Heesterman are his concepts of tradition, modernity and transcendence, and his analysis of changes in rituals signifying changes in the society and conflict between the transcendental order and the worldly order of the society and the state. It is impossible to examine each one of these elements in detail in a brief review. However, a few comments are in order.

I think the central problem with western Indologists and sociologists in understanding Indian civilization is the socio-centredness of their perspective. It has permeated in Heesterman's concept of tradition, modernity and transcendence.

In Sanskrit there are two words for tradition. They are *amnaya* and *parampara*. The roots of *amanaya* are 'above' (*urdhwamula*). That root may be called '*akshar purusa*' in accordance with the *Gita* or *Brahman* in accordance with the vedic tradition. I feel that it has to be distinguished from *parampara* which appears to be bound by time and space, and therefore changing, though continuously asserting its legitimacy in terms of *amnaya*.

Heesterman's definition of tradition as 'the way society formulates and deals with the basic problems of human existence' i.e. the problems of life and death, ignores the question of the root of the Indian tradition and, therefore, misses the significance of the concept and ultimate end of '*purusa*', which is the key linking element between the transcendental reality and the worldly order. Such a tradition brooks no compromise with modernity, which is essentially rooted in the notion of the centrality of man. His western usage of the word 'transcendence' also violates the '*urdhwamulata*' (the above-rootedness) of Indian tradition and similarly of all traditions 'rooted above'.

Besides, Heesterman ignores completely the efforts of *bhakti* texts to integrate *nivrtti* (translated by Heesterman as withdrawal from the society) and *pravrtti* (involvement in the society). Following Sankara charya, one may not agree with the

view that this effort was initiated by the *Gita*; but nobody can ignore the later texts of *bhakti* school, which provide a design of social living anchored in the *nivrtti* perspective of Indian tradition. Although Heesterman mentions the name of Janaka on p. 131, he misses the significance of Janaka providing the ideal for kings integrating the *nivrtti* and *pravrtti* paths for *lokasamgraha* (integration of society). In this context, it is not out of place to mention that A. R. Coomarswamy translated *nivrtti* and *pravrtti* as centripetal and centrifugal in accordance with *amaya*.

Finally, to say even circumspectly that Ashoka resorted to 'Buddhist-inspired dharma' to acquire a 'universalistic, supra-personal unity' (p. 20) is to distort history. The legitimacy of Ashoka's power was already established before his Kalinga War, followed by his acceptance of Buddhism. Besides, the tradition of Indian empires including that of Ashoka was never on the model of

unitary society and unitary nation-state.

Despite some of these weaknesses in the perspective and analysis, Heesterman's book is a welcome addition to Indian sociology. I am sure both Indologists and sociologists, whether they are socio-centred or not, will find the volume highly stimulating. It will trigger not only controversy; but will also provide stimulus to further work on several specific issues raised by Heesterman and on the general perspective to understand 'Indian civilization'.

Prof. K. N. Sharma of the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences in the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, has done this short review on our special request, though in his forwarding letter, he has stated that "The book is very important and deserves a full length review article". We hope that some of the IBC readers reviewers will respond to this suggestion by Prof. Sharma.

added as, in the meantime, I myself became associated with the editing of the IBC, beginning with its January 1986 issue; but finally, my moral doubts were laid to rest as I realized that by not reviewing the book, this excellent work by Dr. Oommen was being unnecessarily denied its well deserved exposure (while the academic community as a whole was hardly aware of the ethical constraints with which I was feeling morally bound). Hence, this review, even though I would still prefer a thorough debate on the limits of anonymity and impersonality' and the canons of 'fair play' as far as book reviewing is concerned.

Sociology and its more recent offshoot, political sociology, are among the several products of the Industrial Revolution, while social anthropology is mainly a product of the interaction of the newly industrialized countries of the West with the non-western societies whose 'social structures' have still not yet undergone the full range of political transformations which resulted in the emergence of the post-Westphalia nation-states in some countries of western Europe and their overseas extensions. The facticity of this great East-West encounter is, of course, known to every Indian social scientist but, for one reason or the other, their 'sociological imagination' has not yet enveloped analytical studies of political changes taking place in India on account of the socio-economic changes introduced, albeit cautiously and unconsciously, by the British *Raj*. In fact, even though European models and methods of socio-scientific analyses were readily accessible to at least those Indians who had the good fortune to be educated abroad, Indian academics paid scant attention towards observing these on-going changes with some of the best minds of the first half of the twentieth century getting busy in extolling the virtues of the metaphysical treatises and mythological traditions of ancient India. As a result, today's social scientists feel handicapped when asked for explanations of several social and political changes which germinated during the hundred years

(over-leaf)

Independence and the Social Process

T. K. Oommen

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND POLITICS : Studies in Independent India

Hindustan Publishing Corporation Delhi (1984) pp. XII+236.

Reviewed by P. C. Mathur

Social anthropologists and sociologists are familiar with the *pros* and *cons* of the debate, conceptual as well as methodological, regarding merits and de-merits of studying one's "own" society, but the ethics of reviewing books of one's own friends and associates have not yet been subjected to comparable scrutiny, at least amongst social scientists who are otherwise very particular about bias of any sort creeping into their data collection and analytical activities. Take the present book, for example, which was sent to me for reviewing by Dr. Amrik Singh without knowing that

Prof. Oommen and myself have been close friends with continuous academic interactions during the period when most of the essays reproduced in this compilation were being written and sent for publication. To be fair to Dr. Amrik Singh who edited the *Indian Book Chronicle* so meticulously and sustained its excellence for 10 years (and is even now sparing his valuable time for it in an advisory capacity) he *did* ask for my consent for reviewing this book, which I gave only after debating about saying yes or no for a long time. A further dose of doubt (and delay) was

preceding India's overthrow of the British *Raj* in 1947.

The contemporary social scientists' predicament becomes all the more pronounced because "Independence" itself *seems* to have accelerated and/or profoundly affected the micro-structural as well as macro structural changes taking place since the introduction of the western political institutions, legal codes and techno-economic processes of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. While reviewing Prof. S.C. Dube's pioneering social report entitled *Indian Since Independence* (vide "India's Experiments With Freedom", *India Book Chronicle*, Vol.II, No. 2, December 1, 1977 : 379 - 382) we had hinted that insufficient appreciation was being shown by social scientists as far as the social consequence of "Independence" are concerned. Dr. Oommen's choice of the sub-title of the book (viz. "*Studies in Independent India*") once again enables us to draw their attention towards the significant fact that many of the social changes described and analyzed by Dr. Oommen seem to be directly related with India's freedom from foreign rule and its adoption of an *isocratic* system of enfranchisement.

INTER ACTION

Though many changes originated before 1947, we tend to agree with Dr. Oommen that they acquired *new* forms and unprecedented momentum only *after* 1947, i.e. in "Independent India". In fact, although Dr. Oommen himself does not directly take the issue of "Independence" as an independent variable of social change we find that in the very first line of the Introduction, he talks about the "reciprocal interaction" between social structure and political processes. Theoretically, reciprocal interaction between social structure and political processes can be a subject-matter of study in *any* social system but empirically, the issue of .. political integration being achieved in a plural society", to which this book is addressed, assumes critical importance only in a *democratic* political system, because non - democratic,

(more especially non-*isocratic*) political regimes can reduce and/or control the reciprocity between society and politics to a greater extent than is possible in case of democracies which guarantee a modicum of freedom even to system-destabilizing forces.

In our own compendium of conceptual and empirical essays entitled *Social Bases of Indian Politics* (Jaipur, 1984) we have traversed virtually the same ground as Dr. Oommen (viz. the relationship between India's historically and culturally diverse social identities and its newly-institutionalized political system) and have, broadly speaking, also reached a conclusion similar to Dr. Oommen's viz. "...social pluralism *per se* is not inimical to the goal of achieving political integration in-so-far as primordial collectivities pursue instrumental objectives" (p. 2). Given the commonality of our intellectual careers, at least during the formative phases, and the similarities of our conclusions, it would be pointless for us to offer a more detailed critique of the individual chapters in this book, which surely deserves to be read by all social scientists interested in understanding the inter-play of primordial loyalties and political legitimacy of the State in modern India.

T. K. Oommen has brought to bear an impressive range of sociological theories on the fascinating phenomenon and its diverse facets, and one can only hope that more social scientists follow this lead because, as mentioned above, sociology in particular, and social sciences in general, are a product of the *industrial* revolution and most of their methods and models have little or negligible illuminatory, let alone explanatory, power as far as pre-industrial cultural traditions and social structures are concerned. It is in this sense that efforts like Dr. Oommen's start with a built-in handicap on account of the neglect of ongoing social changes by the preceding generations of sociologists and other social scientists. Thus, most of the primordial collectivities which seem to challenge the unity and integrity

of the modern Indian State have had a very ancient social existence, but their political salience surfaced only after the introduction of democratic forms and processes of government, becoming critical after the acquisition of independent statehood. Most of the pre-1947 generation of social activists (including nationalistic social scientists) thought that *nation-hood* was a panacea for the disensus based on social cleavages, but the first four decades of India's Independence have shown that achievement of perfect "*nation-state*" can only be a goal so distant that it may even be regarded as undesirable, with out political energies being more fruitfully invested in describing and discovering the limits to which social diversity can erode or corrode the "steel-frame" of post-1947 India.

Dr. Oommen's studies are, thus, specially welcome because they also allow Indian scholars to highlight the inadequacies of the western social science theories and their Indian derivatives. Thus, Prof. Oommen's masterly critique of M. N. Srinivas's concept of "Dominant Caste" (vide chapter 5. "*The Concept of Dominant caste ; A critique*", pp. 69-81) not only reads well in a sociological sense, but its political logic (viz. the academic value of the concept would decline with the progressively greater integration of locally-closed rural society into the wider political arenas of Independent India) underlines the need to pay greater attention towards "independence" as a political variable in the social crucible of changing India.

Individually as well as intellectually, the book under review is most satisfying. It addresses a critically important issue; displays a great deal of methodological rigour; employs a wide range of theoretical insights and explores a variety of arenas which very few sociologists ('*Gramdan*' and '*Student Politics*') have entered so far. Our only regret is that perhaps Rajasthan would never have the luck of being visited again by such a keen and perceptive researcher as Prof. T. K. Oommen for data collection and theory building.

Agriculture Pricing Policy and Production

S. S. Acharya

PRICES AND PRICE POLICY FOR PULSES AND CEREALS

Sukhadia University, Udaipur (1985) pp. 439 Rs. 135.

Reviewed by D. C. Pant

The growth in food production in the country has been one of the most spectacular phenomena of agricultural development at global level. But the commodity-wise disaggregated growth has not been fully at par with what has been aimed at. The pulse crops in general have shown a contrast, despite emphasis during the recent plan periods at the national level on measures to accelerate the production of pulses. The strategies designed to stimulate the production of pulses have not been able to break the barriers under which the stagnancy of production continued. In other words, it could well be recognised that the packages of policies and programmes labelled under any uniform pattern are inadequate to cope with the production strategies of various crop commodities. Therefore, this integrated analysis of production, prices and marketing of each of the important pulse crops assumes paramount importance. The volume under review is unique in treating all these aspects in an integrated manner so as to generate some new or alternative basis for adequate policies and programmes for pulse development.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

The author has formulated this problem by arguing that the investment in agriculture has risen, and a number of policy decisions have been taken to give a higher priority to agriculture than before. As a result, agricultural production in general has not only increased, but it has also achieved a reasonable degree of stability. Cereals and oilseeds production between 1960-61 and 1978-79 has recorded a positive growth rate, but the pulses sector has

remained sluggish (with a negative growth rate of -0.26). The per capita availability of pulses has been continuously going down, which has now come down to 42 gms. per day. India is a major producer and consumer of pulses in the world. Therefore, the scope of imports is very limited and any solution to the problem of supply constraint, has to be found out within the country.

The first chapter of the book outlines the magnitude of the problem, the demand-supply gap, the role of prices and price policy and specific objectives of the study. An overview of the design of the study including procedure of selection of the study area, of traders or farmers and collection of data adopted by the author is presented in the second chapter. The study has been mainly centred on Rajasthan and on six pulse gram crops viz, *moth*, *moong*, *urad*, *cowpeas* and *arhar*. The author has used both secondary and primary data at macro and micro levels.

The next chapter presents a global view of pulse production, growth rates of area, yields and production of pulses in India and in important states, and state-wise changes in the relevant place of pulses in the cropping pattern. The relative position of the country in the global picture of pulse production has also been examined along with the situation of export and import of pulses.

RAJASTHAN SCENE

The detailed results of the study in Rajasthan state are presented in the next 6 or 7 chapters (from on. 4 to 10). While discussing the dynamics of pulse area, yields and production levels in Rajasthan and important districts of production, the author has observed that average

pulse yields of important pulse crops of the state have varied widely. He has found that, in general, area fluctuations were low compared to yield fluctuations. Over time, the place of pulses in the cropping pattern has improved. During the seventies, pulses area has increased at the cost of cereals and oilseeds area. He estimates that rainfall alone has contributed to nearly two-third of the variation in the pulses area in Rajasthan. High area-years were significantly co-related with high yield-years for important pulse crops in the state. In major gram producing districts, gram area growth was low or negative, but yield growth was positive and significant, whereas *moth* registered a negative growth rate both in area as well as in production. The author has noticed that risks of crop failure in *moth* are very high; and only 35 percent of the sown area is actually harvested. These production trends and the problems they reflect need constant study and attention.

Characteristics of pulse farming system such as single and mixed crops of pulses and their contribution to total pulse production, the average production per farm, the use of inputs on pulse crops, reasons for low yields of pulses and potentials for increasing the yields are some aspects which have been discussed in a separate chapter. The author has found that pulse cultivation is more common on large size farms. Pulses or their mixtures showed their presence on nearly half of the area. In all 28 crop mixtures involving pulses were reported, though sole pulse production is most common. Use of irrigation, rhizobium culture and plant protection measures has been very low. He has stressed that the existing varieties of pulses have quite good potential which yet remains to be exploited. However to increase the pulse production region-specific seed production and distribution arrangements should be developed which are inadequate at present. The returns from scarce irrigation water may be more, if this is used for gram in place of cereals. Life-saving irrigation to *Kharif* pulse crops can also help in increasing and stabilising yields.

The sixth chapter offers the state and district level analysis of factors affecting area under pulse crops and rate of prices based on principal components analysis and acreage response functions. The author has pointed out that rainfall at sowing time is an important factor affecting the gram area. In all the pulses, there is negative effect of irrigation on area except in the case of *arhar*. Price responsiveness was also observed to some extent.

ABOUT COSTS AND MARKET PRICES

The author has tried to estimate cost of cultivation, net income, cost of production, distribution of farmers at various cost levels, bulk-line cost of production and related issues in the next chapter. He has brought out that only in *moth*, bulk line cost is lower than average cost of production, because of crop failure. The net profit per hectare in *moth* was less than zero. Support and market price have also been compared.

In the eighth chapter, Acharya has noted the high rate of rise in pulse prices. Price cycles of 5 to 3 years duration alternating with each other, have been observed; but pulse prices have remained stickily upward. The increase in retail prices (RP) has been more than wholesale prices; and wholesale prices have increased at a higher rate than farm price (F.H.P.). Intra-year price stability is positively related to arrivals. Nearly half of the total arrivals have been in the first quarter after harvest. A negative association between intra-year market arrivals and price movement patterns was observed; but the patterns of prices and arrivals have remained similar in various years irrespective of the quantum of arrivals.

MARKETING

The author has discussed the complexities of the marketing system of pulses in Rajasthan in the ninth chapter. He has observed that farmers have usually carried over sto-

cks, specially for meeting their seed requirements in the next season. Marketed surplus (81.7 per cent) was more than market-able surplus (74.7 per cent) of the total pulse production. More than three-fourth quantity was, however, sold in regulated markets, but farmers of nearby village sold less in the regulated market.

His findings refute the generally held notion that farmers located away from the markets sell more of their produce in villages. In fact, their tendency is just the opposite. Traders prefer to buy in the villages and keep stocks there to evade statutory stock limits, or to pass the goods outside the formal marketing channels; and for this purpose, nearby villages are more convenient for traders. Therefore, prices received in the village sales are not lower than market sales. There has been a decrease in marketing costs and the practise of delayed payments.

The capacity of pulse processing in Rajasthan is inadequate and the margins retained by processors are very high. That is why quite a lot of pulse grains are transported outside the state. The author has also tried to study a number of marketing channels and the quantity passing through various channels in gram and *moth*.

Some other characteristics of the market structure of pulses have been given in the tenth chapter. The author has found that the number of wholesalers and commission agents has increased over time; but only 17 per cent traders deal with pulse grains. In most of the regulated markets, open auction method is prevalent.

Smaller markets with smaller number of traders present a situation of higher degree of concentration compared to bigger markets. Spatial integration in market has been very high. Farmers' share in consumer rupee was 61 to 72 per cent for various pulse crops. The returns on storage in gram are positive from August to February.

Similar details of production performance and marketing of pulses in Panchmahal district of Gujarat are covered in the next chapter.

PROCUREMENT

Other related topics have been taken up in the twelfth chapter. These cover a review of price policy for cereals and pulses in India, the procurement and price support operations in Rajasthan, and farmers' awareness or response to these programmes, the parity issue in pricing of cereals and pulses, the nature of demand for pulses and its implications for price policy and the need for market improvement.

In Rajasthan, in the past, only commercial purchases of pulses have been made. Procurement of cereals or the purchase of pulses is done by the Food Corporation of India (FCI) through its sub-agencies, the Rajasthan State Warehousing Corporation (RSWC) and the Rajasthan State Corporation Federation (RAJ-FED).

The low response of farmers to procurement and support price calls for an extension programme to make them aware of the rationale of this programme.

In his study, Acharya has, however, found that prices actually received by the farmers have been higher than procurement prices in most years. Support prices announced for wheat and gram and prices actually received for wheat do not show parity with prices of purchased inputs, *cost C*, prices of consumers goods and general price level, but it is not so for gram. Income elasticity is more for pulses than cereals. This means as incomes of the people rise, specially of the poor classes, their demand for pulses shall rise.

SUMMING UP

In nut shell, Acharya has carried out an integrated analysis of production, marketing and price scene of the pulses sector. Based on his in-depth analysis he has come out with some specific suggestions in terms of level of price support, implementation of price policy, market improvements and extension work. The basic theme of the author is that the country need not wait for the "miracle" seeds of pulses to be

evolved. Even the existing new technologies have yet to be adopted by the farmers. According to his findings, improvements in pricing and marketing, and an explicit emphasis on these aspects in agricultural extension work, can accelerate the growth of pulse production in the country.

The volume under review is one of the rare documents on the pattern on which such a study can be framed. All those who are interested in the "pulse scenario" of the country-sci-

tists, administrators, planners, traders, producers, processors and consumers alike will find some part or the other of the volume of interest or relevance to them. The concepts and the facts laid out in the volume, if appreciated in appropriate quarters, may lead to ways and means to stimulate the production of pulses from the present sluggish position.

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Asking For Trouble : What it Means to be a Governor Today ?

GOVERNOR : SAGE OR SABOTEUR

Published by Roli Books International; Rs. 95/- pp. 176

Reviewed by Sudhansu Mohanty

Of late, the institution of the Governor seems to have moved out from the confines of the Constitution to become a subject of much academic polemic. The shenanigans that went on rather all too loudly in Sikkim, Andhra Pradesh, and Jammu & Kashmir brought all the shades of Orwellian "Doublespeak" to loom large in our political horizon in Orwell's year of 1984. There seemed to be a Kafkesque touch to the whole drama except that terror had been substituted by money and suspicion.

Time was—again not too long ago—when a half issue like the dissolution of Orissa assembly in 1973 by B. D. Jatti, the then Governor, after the resignation of the ministry, without giving a chance to the Opposition to prove their majority, had earned him the stricture of the Orissa High Court, which stated that "the Governor must behave in a way so that the bonafides of his action remain immune from any possible misgivings." Only eleven years after this, the new clutch of Governors—Talyar Khan, Ramlal, Jagmohan—

schooled in the existing socio-political milieu—had different ideals to pursue, which brooked no compunctions to flout not only established constitutional conventions but such a land-mark pronouncement as the Orissa High Court stricture.

NOT AN EMBLEM NOR A CIPHER

The book under review seeks to analyse the office and role of the Governor in the light of the recent turmoil. Soli Sorabjee sets out to amplify the role of the governors as enunciated by the Constitution and aspired by the founding fathers. While outright rejecting the now often heard orchestration of the redundancy of the office (of Governor) as a mere anachronism in a democratic, federal polity, Sorabjee avers: "it would be a gross fallacy to regard the institution of the Governor as a faint presence like a full moon at mid-day. The Governor is not a decorative emblem nor a glorified cipher. Though under the Constitution his powers are limited, he has an important role to play."

All that need be amended are the provisions regarding the appointment and removal of the Governor by the President. The appointment of a Governor could be made by the President after consultation with the Chief Minister of the State and his concurrence. Failing the latter's concurrence "the matter may be left to the decision of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and the leader of the Opposition in Parliament or any other high-powered body whose decision should be accepted as final". One wonders if it would not be more sensible to select men of vision and intellect, and of unimpeachable integrity and impartiality to the high office of Governor by a panel consisting of the Vice President, the Prime Minister, the Chief Minister of the concerned State, the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court and the concerned State High Court, the leaders of the Opposition in Parliament and State Assembly, who would recommend three names to the President for final approval.

Another disincentive to abuse his constitutional authority would be to prevent the Governor of a second term in office either in the same State or elsewhere, and to put an embargo on Governors holding any office of profit after retirement or resignation, and his returning to active politics after the completion of his tenure. This pre-condition perhaps would disenchant the party in power as much as the active politician to hanker after gubernatorial posts on their defeat at the hustings or after a disgraceful innings in the central or state cabinets. This, of course, is open to debate.

DENIAL OF SAFEGUARDS

Likewise, the procedure for the removal of Governors could be made more specific than the mere "pleasure" of the President. What Raghukul Tilak most tellingly wrote "that the safeguards available to a Raj Bhawan peon are denied to a *Rajyapal*", still holds true. Sorabjee feels that "the grounds for the removal of a Governor be expressly specified in the Constitution; and his removal should be on the same grounds and in the like manner as

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the removal of Supreme Court Judge or a High Court Judge or other constitutional functionaries". All the more so, as the Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court unanimously and categorically has ruled in the famous "*Raghukul Tilak Case*" (AIR SC, 1109) that the appointment of the Governor by the President and his holding office during the latter's pleasure "does not make the Government of India an employer of the Governor. The Governor is the Head of the State and holds a high constitutional office which carries with it important constitutional functions and duties; and he cannot, therefore, even by stretching the language to a breaking point, be regarded as an employee or servant of the Government of India.... He is not amenable to the directions of the Government of India, nor is he accountable to them for the manner in which he carries out his functions and duties. His is an independent constitutional office which is not subject to the control of the Government of India".

SERVANT OF THE CONSTITUTION

All the three gubernatorial office holders—L.P. Singh, Govind Narain, Dharma Vira—seem to agree with each other inasmuch as the role of the Governor is in a federal polity, and though a presidential appointee, he is a part of the State apparatus; that he has to operate a parliamentary system and cabinet government with their traditions, conventions and norms to which the framers of the Constitution referred repeatedly, that he is a servant of the Constitution, bound by the oath of his office, and not an agent of any other authority, or an instrument for promoting any sectional interests, including those of a political party.

"As it is, the Governor is the only non-elective constitutional authority who has no truly assured tenure", observes L. P. Singh. Though there always would be exceptions and there indeed are, a Governor functioning with the apprehension of dismissal or transfer to another State, without his willing con-

sent, may not find it easy to function with complete impartiality and as an independent constitutional authority, wholly, uninfluenced by the actual or believed wishes and expectations of the Central Government".

MOMENTS OF CHOICE; OF THE CM

A time when the Governor is confronted with a dilemma is in the choice of a person to be the Chief Minister when no party or coalition of parties has a clear majority. L. P. Singh, drawing from his vast, none too pleasant, experience maintains that the Governor has to ascertain from every independent member which of the rival claimant he supports. "In our conditions, in which once a person is appointed Chief Minister, he is able, by one means or another, to get the support of some members who were initially not supporting him, or were sitting on the fence, waiting for an attractive offer, a Governor has to give an equal opportunity to the rival claimants to satisfy him about the extent of the support enjoyed by each". For, a demonstrable fairness at the time of ministry-formation is what earns for the Governor the repose and trust of the political parties and the people in general.

What is the Governor to do if a government in power becomes unstable or loses majority through defection or otherwise, to ensure that only a party enjoying stable majority comes into power? What if the Chief Minister knowing of his loss of majority delays the summoning of the Legislative Assembly? This is what confronted Dharma Vira as the Governor of West Bengal in the sixties. As is well known Dharma Vira dismissed Ajoy Mukherji's government and thereafter called upon Dr. Ghosh to form a government, with the proviso that the latter would ensure that the Legislative Assembly be summoned expeditiously to decide the question of majority in the house.

As is clear from the crisis in West Bengal—and such situations may repeat themselves *ad nauseam*—the lacuna which enabled Ajoy Mukerji

to delay summoning the House despite the Governor's express advice need be closed "by a provision authorizing the Governor to summon the Legislature himself—without waiting for the advice of his ministers—under certain specified circumstances".

APPOINTMENT OF VC'S

Another likely area of conflict is the appointment of Vice-Chancellors. Here the procedure followed is the one under the University Act, where the Chancellor is required to appoint a committee consisting of the State Government's nominee, a nominee of the UGC, a nominee of the University Senate and the Chancellor's nominee, who is usually the Chairman of the committee. This committee considers all the names suitable, and after taking the overall requirements of the University, presents a panel of three or four names for the Chancellor to make the final choice. The job of selecting a Vice-Chancellor ought to be the prerogative of the Chancellor without consulting the Cabinet, though Govind Narain feels that "in the spirit of understanding and good relationship, the Governor as Chancellor should informally consult the Chief Minister or his Education Minister before making his final choice of a Vice-Chancellor, without in any way surrendering the right to make the final choice himself."

AN ANACHRONISM OR A WATCH-DOG?

Most people will not agree with E. M. S. Namboodiripad's thesis that the Governor, in the light of his dubious role, has become an anachronism in the democratic Indian polity and the august institution could be done away with. Residual powers, if any, may be discharged by some other equivalent of the Governor, "They can be handed over to a specified authority, such as the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, a committee appointed by the State Legislature or whatever. There is no need for a separate office with the Raj Bhawan and other paraphernalia". This, Namboodiripad asserts,

would remove one irritant in the Centre-State relations—‘the Governor as the watch-dog of the Centre, an institution which cuts at the very root of state autonomy in federal India’.

Upendra's piece is a blow by blow account of the Ramlal episode which has no parallel in its skulduggery and would easily go down as the darkest chapter in Indian gubernatorial history. While Tavleen Singh details the development of the constitutional crisis ably ‘manufactured’ by Jagmohan to oust Dr. Farooq Abdullah in Jammu & Kashmir, Sunanda K. Dutta-Ray draws up a critique on the role of Talyar Khan in the Sikkim crisis. Each was an improvement upon the other, the Governors seemingly vying with one another to ingratiate themselves with the Centre by cocking a gratuitous snook at the constitutional provisions and morality. The year 1984 saw the *nadir* in the prestige attendant on an office as the Governor, and the mass upheaval in revul-

sion against Ramlal's misdeeds and the subsequent resignation of the latter did precious little to extenuate the wrong done.

“Governor : Sage or saboteur” written against the back-drop of such constitutional travails from various angles by an assortment of public personalities, constitutional experts and journalists should, if not advise, at least straitjacket the incumbents of the gubernatorial offices, to act with caution and foresight in exercising their ‘discretion’; for, apart from a demonstrable uprightness, what is more required at this hour is in exorcising the spectre of future Ramlals from the Indian political horizon.

Sudhansu Mohanty started as a Lecturer in History at the Utkal University before his long career in the Indian Defence Accounts Service. At present, he is on deputation to the UPSC. A person of wide academic and literary interests, he has been associated with this journal since long.

Stories With an Indian Soul

Khawaja Ahmed Abbas

THE THIRTEENTH VICTIM : Amar Publications (Delhi) pp. 133; Rs. 80.

Reviewed by Jaidev

Nearly each one of the fifteen stories in *The Thirteenth Victim* can serve as a model for what Indian fiction should be, if it has to be legitimately and decently native. The stories are all examples of good, solid, relevant fiction; and they are so, for many significant reasons.

THE WRITER'S CREDO IN AN ALIEN CLIMATE

However, since Abbas has prefaced the collection with a disturbing “Credo of a Non-writer”, I think it is only fair to turn to the Credo first.

Outside the book and by itself, the Credo would perhaps be a rather unimpressive rosary of socio-cultural clichés. Abbas says that individual's inner life is not autonomous, but is influenced by and inter-acts with the contexts outside : “This inter-action of the individual and the social forces operating around him is of particular interest to me; and it has inspired, provoked, or coloured most of what I have written...”. However, the Credo disturbs because, Abbas feels, it is his interest in this inter-action which has contributed to his reputation as a non-writer : “I think we may sum

up the situation as a consensus that I am a short story writer—of sorts. May be a non-writer !”

The Credo has a melancholy ring of complaint around it, and this complaint can be de-constructed in certain questions : Does an Indian writer's getting his inspiration daubed with alien fetishes like modernism, post-modernism, existentialism and the absurd, improve his art ? Or does it impair it ? Or, most importantly, does it impair it by alienating it, even while it may secure him both adoration and promotion by more-or-less openly-motivated, powerful groups of critics, reviewers, syllabus-forming professors (naturally foreign trained), and ‘art patrons’ in the administration ?

These are rude questions perhaps, but they are the means to stating a basic truth about all texts, whether creative or critical. No text, no discourse is innocent, but carries in and with it a whole way of looking at the world, an ideological perception. Literary theorists and critics who talk of the *purity of art* or the *autonomy of literature* seek to alienate these from the world of human activity, and thus further the interests, consciously or otherwise, of an ideology which values literature not for its human relevance or educative value, but for its—politically rich—deflective and diversionary potential.

Perhaps some societies can afford to have literature for mere *arty* pleasure; they are affluent and comfortable enough to insist on purely formal criteria of art, and like to see literature in such aesthetic terms as, say, elegance, pattern, tension, imagery, ambiguity and texture. But there are also societies where this kind of formal luxury appears heartless, indecent and sinful. In some cultures, a poem does not have to *mean*, just *being* is sufficient; but their poetic logic (which is essentially a political logic) cannot be transferred to other cultures without causing dislocations and distortions. It is wrong to continue to endorse, just because it has been current for so very long, the cliché that beauty is somehow superior to utility. That

kind of Kantian romanticism is not exactly suited to our conditions. Sadly though, there is a climate of cultural imperialism we still continue to be in.

A writer here (in India) writes for and about the ordinary people. He tries to make his texts purposeful by highlighting their connexions with the social forces around us all, tries to depict in a simple, straightforward manner *India*, and her shames and deprivations, her promise and predicaments, and the result? He is dismissed as a non-writer. He is dismissed because he is neither a modernist, nor a post-modernist, nor an absurdist, nor an existentialist, nor a celebrator of chaos or hell, nor a self-reflexive formalist. So seduced are we by the dazzlingly rich but, for us, irrelevant cultural and artistic fetishes that we would banish all Indian writers from the creative citadel unless they are able to flaunt their *pastiche* identity, an identity composed—or assembled, *a la* the multi-nationals' procedure, of some Kafka, some Proust, some Joyce, some Faulkner, and so on. In Indian literature, it would seem, to be Indian is the easiest way to be demned!

STORIES OF HERE AND NOW

Abbas's stories are clearly very unsatisfactory if one were to examine them with standards borrowed indiscriminately from the New Critics. These stories do not have much indirection, ambiguity, paradox, or texture in them, and indeed it places, they are full of sentimentalism, over-statements, unelegant expressions, and simple ironies. Nor are they too fussy about the point of view or distancing strategies. Nor is their progressivism sufficiently arid and sterilized to get the approval of, say, Fredric Jameson. No complex symbolism, no deliberate cultivation of obscurity, no presence of enigma and no decadent arcissism! Judged by the post-modernist or post-structuralist standards, these are no stories at all.

The stories strike us as good only when we read them not as some foreign expert tell us to read stories, or even as the writer would want

us to read them; but as they should be read by us, here, in this country, at this time. This way of reading is limited, but then every way of reading is limited. And this way is a better way, because it is relevant.

The marks of an Indian are everywhere in these stories. And the Indian in Abbas is very good at showing the 'other' Indian side of Indian reality.

In the title story, India's medical achievements are combined with India's legal realities to then focus on the devastating irony that can accompany them both. The ex-commando who murders both his wife and her lover is sentenced to death; but before his hanging, he gets two chances of 'feeling' alive—and Abbas is superb in catching those intense, dizzy moments while the man is on the run, then getting into a marshy area, then fighting like a beast against the police dogs, and later on, after he becomes a celebrity of sorts as the first Indian with a transplanted heart, irony closes in, as he realizes that now, at last, he is fit to be hanged.

—OF COMPASSION AND HUMANITY

Compassion is the most pervasive quality of Abbas's fiction. This is never deliberate or forced, but emanates much in the same way as it does in, say, Turgenev or Chekov—two writers with whom Abbas has unmistakable affinity. This compassion makes him empathise with the destitute members of a family which possesses just one tattered *dhoti*, so that if the father wears it, the wife and the daughter have to stay back. When something called *Azadi* is reported to have come to the country, the protagonist catches at a derelict piece of cloth—it is the national flag. The ignorant man improvises it into a nice *dhoti*—only to be sent to jail for three crimes: theft, insult to the flag, and being a nuisance in Connaught Place. Ironies are present in the story much as a hill road is punctuated by turns; but they are all spontaneous, and come out naturally once the initial Indian situation is postulated. More important,

such ironies do not operate at the expense of the story's overall pathos and humanity.

Although Abbas has no use for those highly privatised techniques of alienation such as the stream of consciousness or limited point of view, he can be very poignant and touching in his suggestions about the inner conflict of his innocent, simple characters. Depth is there in plenty in the stories, but this depth is not engineered with techniques.

"*The Dumb Cow*" is a great story in which the writer's compassion generates unforgettable moments. Having been ignored since her childhood, the stammering girl grows up, in the home as an ever-ignored thing, until she is taught lovingly by her teacher to read and speak. Nothing is stated, but her shock is conveyed in all its intensity as her hope of surprising the family with smooth speech never materialises for the simple, terrible reason that no one at home gives a thought to her. She comes home hoping that everyone will be asking her about her first day in school, but nobody asks.

A long silence and a crushing Indifference flank her growth in the family, until one day she is pushed into marriage with a butcher-like, greedy old man. She shocks the village with her sharp, articulate rejection of the groom: "And Sulekha who was called Bholi, and whom everyone had always imagined a simpleton and a stammering fool, said in a voice that was calm and steady, 'Don't you worry, in your old age, I will serve you and mother. And I will teach in the same school where I learnt so much.'"

A superb character, she is a divine idiot whose nuances are captured with much compassion and tenderness. When nobody asks her about her first day in school, she begins to miss Lakshmi, the dumb cow which has already been sold to the butcher: "So Bholi could not tell anyone about her school, her teacher and her book. If only Lakshmi was there, Bholi would have liked to talk to her even if the poor cow could not

not speak to her." Crushed by the silence, she sits in her corner and wonders "what the stars would say to her if only they could speak." A sudden feeling like this lifts the simple character and turns her into a grand tragic figure.

Abbas is only too aware of how inhuman the family can be in India towards a disadvantaged member, and yet his sadness never gets nihilistic; his faith in human beings makes him focus on those aspects which give even the lowliest, their moments of dignity. It is this faith which makes his characters "characters of love".

The most endearing thing about these stories is their simplicity, and simple but most effective emotiveness. Thus in an intense story entitled "All That Two Hands Can Carry", a thief has his wildest dream come true when an earthquake brings the buildings down and leaves several chests and cash-boxes open. He carries as much as his two hands can carry—until a child's cry holds him, and forces him to discard all his possessions so that his hands will carry the child. In saving the child, the thief is being reborn. Reading the story one feels good to be alive and human. So much of genuine faith in humanity is hard to come by these days.

HUMOUR AND IRONY

Abbas is also successful in creating some fine humour in these human stories. At its most profound, his humour partakes of irony, as in "Fathers and Sons" where a self-conscious father has to be re-rejected by his conservative father before he is able to catch the meaning of his own rejection by his young son. An impressive version of the human comedy, the story is able to show the irony that underlies all generational gaps.

The more comic side of Abbas is best seen in "The Dumb Cow" where, after Bholi's rejection of the old bridegroom, the wedding party departs swearing vengeance, but "the confused bandmen, thinking this was the end of the ceremony, struck

up the national anthem, "Jana-Gana-Mana..."

On the other hand, there are some stories where the vision is grim, even macabre. "Thicker than Water" depicts a man who lives by selling his blood and eventually dies of selling his blood!

And in a parable of modern India, Abbas shows what happens when a poor woman gives birth to quintuplets: slogans are raised; controversies develop, groupism flourishes; extravagant conclusions are drawn; but as a committee is formed and brings gifts to the children, it is revealed that they have died of neglect and malnutrition.

Though there is no clear indication about it the stories seem to have been written originally in English at different times in a long and fruitful writing career of K.A. Abbas. Fiction as reflected in them is a celebration of the ordinary, the neglected, the dumb, and the exploited. To the extent that India is composed of such creatures, *The Thirteenth Victim* is a significant workfiction.

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For Scientific Land Use

Nikhil Krishna De

MEASURING LAND POTENTIALS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Published by University of Burdwan. (W.B.), (1984) pp. 321, with appendices, maps & illustrations, diagrams and photographs, Price Rs. 40/-

Reviewed by B. M. Singhal

"Measuring Land Potentials in Developing Countries" by Professor Nikhil Krishna De is a good attempt to exploit the available knowledge of geomorphology in evaluating land potentiality. The author has very proficiently systematised, synthesized and summed up the findings of a wide range of ecological studies relating to land development. He has done a yeoman job in producing a profound heuristic work with precision and clarity.

The book is, in fact, a combination of theory and practice of assessing the land potentials with a sincere and scientific approach, focusing on problems in the field of geography or allied subjects and planning, by touching upon the present or likely demands of geographers, scientists and the planners belonging to the inter-disciplinary fields in the countries of the Third World, where the nature of resources need careful study and evaluation regard-

ing the suitability of land being put to various uses.

The book deals with three case studies from three different areas (two of these belong to foreign lands and the third is an example from India) with differing geographical backgrounds. Thus it provides wider applicability of techniques used; but all the three case studies are from the developing countries. The methodology applied is scientific, economic and less time-consuming. It can most suitably be applied to other countries of the Third World, for the assessment of land-use for planning purposes. Further, the text is appropriately supplemented with maps/illustrations, diagrams and photographs, thus providing necessary and sufficient material to researchers in various disciplines of geography in particular, and the allied subjects in general.

The book encompasses five chapters in all. The first deals with

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INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

introduction, a short review of the past work, object of the present work, summary and the survey methods in general. This chapter itself gives a concise account of the whole book. The second chapter deals with detailed study of the Castro-villari-Sibari San Demetrio Area (a case study in Calabria, South Italy) including the survey methods in some detail, and the description of the area. The next chapter gives the study of Tartia-Terranova Da Sibari Area (another case study in Calabria, South Italy) which is similarly dealt with in detail. In the fourth chapter, the Banka Basin-Kanchannagore Area (a case study in West Bengal, India) has been taken up for a careful and judicious study.

In the last chapter, a critical examination has been made of the methods used in the survey, and finally a conclusion drawn indicating the usefulness and advantages of this type of study in the developing countries of the world for eventual use and development of their underdeveloped areas. The systematic phases in the 'planned development of areas have been clearly indicated for more detailed scientific investigation and development study in future. The section of appendices includes bibliography (251 items in number), list of symbols used, conversion table and the glossary of terms used in the text.

The three case studies embrace three different types of terrains (mountains and hills, plateaus and plains with three different scales of working in three different types of environment. In the first two case studies (in chapters II and III), the use of air photographs on scales of 1,60,000 and 1,30,000 respectively helped to cover large areas in the time available, while in the fourth chapter, the conventional maps were used. The methodology enunciated here is very economic, scientific and less time-consuming; and it can safely and satisfactorily be applied universally in any type of geographic environment, ranging from regions of high relief (mountains and hills) and moderate relief (plateaus)

to low and very very low relief (almost flat plains).

In view of the great potentiality of this type of work, which needs to be done in most of the developing countries, the treatise by Professor De is sure to be more than useful, not only to the advanced students or researchers, but also to planners of the day and other environmentalists too, who may be interested in and associated with applied geographical studies or researches.

In providing a correct approach for such an endeavour, a book like the one under review, will certainly stand in good stead. (The expres-

sion-'the book like the one under review' is a deliberate one signifying an exception of book on subject the author has produced.) The get up of the book with profuse maps/illustrations, diagrams and photographs is good for its reasonable, rather low, price.

On the whole, the work is commendable and is bound to capture the attention and imagination of scholars and scientists in various disciplines.

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Making Science Popular

S. C. Bhatia (Editor)

"SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE"

Published by the Indian University Association for Continuing Education, New Delhi (1986) PP. 71 Price Rs. 50/-

Reviewed by H. C. Bhartiya

'Science For the People' is a small book containing seven chapters and 71 pages. It is based on the speeches made and papers presented at the 20th Annual Seminar Organised by the Indian University Association for Continuing Education (IUACE). Edited by Prof. S. C. Bhatia of the University of Delhi and published by the TUACE with a meaningful foreword by the former chair-person of the U.G.C., Dr. Madhuri Shah, the book will certainly help all those institutions and groups of persons who wish to popularise science and technology among the people, particularly among the rural masses.

The first two chapters are reproductions of the speeches made by two VIP's who have echoed the well-reasoned out points which Jawahar Lal Nehru used to emphasise for popularising science and technology.

At one place in his presidential address, Governor (of J & K) Jag Mohan refers to a very interesting feature about the imperceptible impact of video revolution. On page two he says, "I was surprised to see that every villager in Pakistan had seen the film Gandhi on their video, and you can just imagine the impact which it has made on the masses of Pakistan. No amount of education, I mean centuries of education, could have brought home to them the values for which Mahatma Gandhi stood.....So this is the potentiality of the information revolution. "But then the question arises, when would every Indian home have such video facility ?

An ex-Union Minister of State for S & T. Electronics, Space, Atomic Energy, etc. Shivraj Patil, while indicating many new thrust areas like electronics, genetics, informatics, communications, science and

technology for oceans, and so on, challenges of which are likely to dominate the 21st century, underlines the need for launching the programmes of popularising S & T in right earnestness. He wants the 'New Education Policy' to take proper care of creating necessary skilled and qualified manpower accordingly.

In the third chapter, Prof. Yashpal (U. G. C. Chairman) discusses some feasible ways in which communication with masses through satellite can be made a reality even in such regions where "last mile problem" continues to persist. He strongly pleads for community sets and regional co-operation in the developing countries for benefitting the masses through electronic devices in respect of information.

Dr. N. K. Sehgal has raised many important issues related to popularisation of S & T in chapter four. He raises a very pertinent point about the tendency of masses to come under the spell of 'godmen' or 'magicians' easily. He says, "The people or the masses mentioned are not all illiterate, poor or uneducated; they come from all walks of life and strata of society, including apparently 'well-educated' ones as well...". He could have as well added...that even some of the so-called very eminent scientists occasionally fall prey to the magic spells of "godmen".

Could there be a bigger irony in our society and for the scientific culture?

The remaining three chapters deal with the various difficulties which institutions and individuals confront, while framing programmes and in trying to implement them to popularise S & T among the masses. The interested readers can certainly benefit immensely from these, by way of guidance and/or important tips while planning such programmes. However, no one has dealt with the stifling bottlenecks which our bureaucracy and 'red-tapism' create in the way of even the getting of such projects.

Lastly, there is the prohibitive price of Rs. 50/- for a small book of 71 pages. This indicates the 'not for the people' nature of this compilation. What a paradox in the context of its name? Also, there are a large number of misprints and spelling mistakes which do not speak well about the quality of editing and publishing. In spite of such draw-backs, the book is worth a quick run through.

Dr. H. C. Bhartiya has recently retired as Associate Professor, Department of Zoology in the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur. He is an activist amongst scientific workers who envisages a positive role of S&T in our improving the lot of the common man.

the *Momins* and the *Ansaris*; among the Sikhs, that of the *Mazhabis*, the *Bhangis* and the *Khatiks*.

Since the introduction of adult franchise after 1947, and its inevitable concomitant, the politics of numbers, the hitherto neglected, depressed or economically disadvantaged sections have realised the value of the ballot box and the political power that is its logical sequence. It is no longer practical politics to side-track, much less ignore, these increasingly important segments in the community.

LEVERAGE IN A BROADENING POLITICAL BASE

The process, however, has been slow and the task uphill. The introduction of the census, operative as from the concluding decades of the 19th century, was the first major step: it gave large classes who had suffered disability on account of their low social position an awareness as to the leverage they could command because of their numerical preponderance. Tied to the gradual broadening of the political base in terms of the Montagu-Chelmsford (1919) and the Simon Commission scheme of reforms (1930), the large, hitherto ignored and inert mass grew conscious of its potential strength and relevance. The Simon report remained a non-starter, but by the time the Government of India Act, 1935, came to be introduced, the scheduled castes, thanks to a growing awareness and an able political leadership provided by M. C. Rajah and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, were able to secure a firm position both in terms of representation in the provincial legislatures and the proposed Federal (or House of) Assembly and the Council of State at the union centre.

The encapsulated summary re-tailed in the preceding paragraph forms the substratum of Dr. Gupta's detailed study under review. His six chapters spell out the complexities of the problem and afford an insight into its varied facets. Thus starting with a frantic quest for identity, 'The Search for a Name' (chapter 1) through 'The Politics of

Politics of Backwardness

S. K. Gupta

THE SCHEDULED CASTES IN MODERN INDIAN POLITICS :

Their Emergence as a Political Power

*Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, (1985)**

Reviewed by Parshotam Mehra

An important political and social phenomenon in India during the past hundred odd years, and more especially since the turn of the cen-

*Originally undertaken for the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

tury period, has been the emergence of the hitherto backward, or weaker sections of the community. This is by no means confined to Hindu society; its approximate counterpart among the Muslims is the rise of

Numbers' in chapter 2, it winds its way through the 'Socio-economic Conditions of the Depressed Classes in 1919' (chapter 3) and the 'Initiation of the Depressed Classes into Politics' (chapter 4) to 'Towards Establishing a Political Identity' in chapter 5 and 'Towards a Transformation of Political Status' in the final chapter.

Roughly the time span is a little over thirty years: from the census reports of 1901 to the framing of the Government of India Act, 1935—from the faint stirrings of awareness among the scheduled castes to their definitive assertion as an important force, a viable political and social entity.

The book is well-researched, and meticulously documented. Among the primary sources, the archival quarry is impressive; there is a sizeable number of private papers; a plethora of reports of committees and commissions and of the decennial census—of 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1961. This does not take account of the related government publications, legislative proceedings and secondary sources: books, journals, newspapers.

A few lacunae may, however, be pin-pointed. To start with, while the narrative is impressively factual and detailed, it lacks in critical assessment and appraisal. Rarely does the author sit back, as it were, and view the operations as a commander would his troops—he is so busy marshalling evidence and maintaining the flow of consequential developments that there is real danger of missing the wood, as it were, for the trees. A case in point is the Poona Pact (September 1932). In a debate spanning 12 pages of close print (pp 293–305) there is everything about the circumstances leading to the Pact and the reactions it evoked, but no word of its eventual place in the scheme of things as the Act of 1935, of which it was an integral part, became operative.

(*Vasant Palshikar, 'Gandhi and Ambedkar', *New Quest*, 53, September-October 1985, pp. 279–95.)

Which underscores another gap. Surely the problem of the scheduled castes is still with us—viz. the question of reservations and the highly controversial Mandal Commission Report, both live issues. A brief epilogue, broadly surveying the post-1935 developments, would have been an immense help to view the problem, and the subject matter of the study itself, in a broader framework of reference.

Still another difficulty which the reader encounters is the inordinate length of individual chapters ranging all the way from 35 pages (chapter 1) to 96 pages (chapter 6). The chapters apart, not a few paragraphs wind on and on, almost interminably (viz. pp. 4–7, 299–302). In the result, apart from a compulsive reader, the average person is bound to lose track before long and grope around without a firm sense of direction. Shorter chapters, smaller paragraphs should ensure a sharper focus and help the reader as no doubt the author himself in making his points with greater force—and clarity. The role played by B. R. Ambedkar and M. C. Rajah, and a host of smaller luminaries, in the organisation of the scheduled castes was so critical that small biographical notes on the two of them, as also a few others, would have helped the reader. Repeated references to Ambedkar's intellectual attainments do not make a mark unless it were underlined that, apart from qualifying for the Bar in London, he had earned a Ph. D from the Columbia University in New York and a D. Sc. *not* honorary, from the prestigious London School of Economics. Ambedkar was no doubt extremely well-read and in addition to being a distinguished author, with three solid works to his credit, he was a leader with a pronounced charisma.

A word on the Gandhi-Ambedkar equation—which for many a pages dominates the narrative—would also have been useful. For the record, it may be mentioned that, even though the Mahatma was hypercritical of the politics of Babasaheb, he was by no means oblivious

of the latter's intellectual acumen as well as the support he commanded among his people. Thus it is no secret that it was on Gandhi's insistence that Ambedkar was sworn in as a member of the National Government that Nehru assembled on the morrow of independence, that his talents as a legal luminary were expertly used in the framing of the Republic's Constitution, that he was the father of the Hindu Code Bill, which earned him the well-deserved sobriquet of the modern Manu. This is not to gainsay what a recent study* heavily underlines namely, that while Gandhi's Congress was one of the 'most democratic (political) organisations', Ambedkar's All-India Scheduled Castes Federation, as no doubt Jinnah's Muslim League, were supremely 'autocratic' in its / their functioning.

Two perceptive studies of Ambedkar which have no doubt escaped the author may bear a mention: Chandra Bharill's *Social and Political Ideas of B. R. Ambedkar* (1977), and D. R. Jatava's *Political Philosophy of B. R. Ambedkar* (1965). Listing Lajpat Rai as 'Rai, Lajpat' (p. 339) and Naunihal Singh as 'Singh, Naunihal' (p. 342) jars on the ear; in the Indian context, they make little sense.

In sum, Professor Gupta has offered a useful study whose major difficulty is no doubt inherent in the genre. The author, it appears, made no effort to re-cast his excellent doctoral *thesis* into a viable *book* that would evoke the interests, and curiosity, of a clientele outside the charmed circle of pure academe. In the result, there is a stilted prose style, no end of avoidable repetition, a mass of expendable foot-noting and a large, padded bibliography. One hopes that by the time a second edition comes, Professor Gupta would ensure that his study undergoes some rigorous and strenuous editing, that makes it relevant to a larger more critical, and appreciative, audience.

Dr. Purshotam Mehra was until recently Professor and Chairman, Department of History the Punjab University, Chandigarh.

SOME GLIMPSES OF GANDHI

Amlan Datta

THE GANDHIAN WAY

*North-Eastern Hill University Publications, Shillong (1986)**pp. 78, Price Rs. 45/-.*

P. N. Mathur

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCHISM OF INDIAN POLITY AND GANDHI

North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong (1985) pp. 111, Price Rs. 30/-.

Michael Edwardes

THE MYTH OF THE MAHATMA

Constable, London (1986) pp. 270, Special Price in India Rs. 75/-.

Reviewed by G. N. Sharma

GANDHIAN WAY

Four lectures of Amlan Datta, the devoted Gandhian scholar and economist, published under the title "*The Gandhian Way*" present the essential elements of Gandhi's social and religious thought in a clear and straight-forward manner and in a lucid, spontaneous style. The common misconceptions about Gandhi's philosophy are effectively exposed and the relevance of his teachings to our age of technology, mechanization, political, economic and social discontents and ethical barrenness is discussed with conviction and sincerity.

DREAMS BELIED

P. N. Mathur starts his essay with Gandhi's letter to 'Every Englishman in India' (dated 27th Oct. 1920) and attempts to recapture the lineaments of *Ram Rajya* as a preliminary to the understanding of Gandhi's social and economic ideas.

Decentralization of political and economic power, village economy and self-government and economic self-sufficiency etc, are stressed prominently as parts of Gandhi's agenda for national revival and reconstruction.

Mathur asserts, however, that political and economic developments

in free India have belied Gandhi's dreams by setting up a kingdom of patronage, "a mockery of the Gandhian passion for decentralisation and local freedom", and a small-scale industrial sector, handloom, *khadi* and village industries sustained by "artificial respiration of central planning, large-scale subsidies, and semi-official all-Indian and even international marketing."

Mathur's essay is an interesting amalgam of ancient Indian tradition, economic analysis and political comment. It concludes with a warning and an exhortation which reflect the general tone of his writing:

"May the country have the strength to move towards the path shown by the far-reaching wisdom of the Mahatma; lest it may (*sic*) stray into the morass of internal conflicts, times of trouble and economic deprivation created by the brilliant but arrogant intellect of the so-called modern intellectuals of the semi-educated, misled middle class."

HISTORY AND MYTH

Michael Edwards, described as a "well-known authority and writer on India" seeks to present the naked truth about the Mahatma, tearing off the accretion of myth which Indian and unreasoning western

admirers have built around his name.

ABOUT THE END OF THE RAJ

The central point of his argument can be stated briefly: Was the Mahatma the killer of the Empire? The answer, freed from myth, is, simply, no. Edwardes' theme is that "the relationship between the life of M. K. Gandhi and that of the British Indian Empire of his time was one of symbiosis—a mutually beneficial partnership between differing organisms. The relationships between the Myth of the Mahatma and the Myth of the Raj is (*sic*) parasitic—one feeding exclusively upon the other and inhibiting anything but the most superficial appreciation of the fundamental nature of either them..." (p.253).

Having made sure that Gandhi was not Jack, the Giant (Empire)-killer, Edwardes reveals that "The Raj was brought to an end by an alliance of forces the Mahatma neither understood, nor wanted to understand". The external force which brought about the end of Empire was Japan and the internal force, the British people themselves. "The British people ceased to be interested in the Empire, in its glories, responsibilities, virtues or vices, because they were concerned with their own welfare above all others, and were, at least, in a position to demand that their wishes be given priority" (p. 255).

In addition to these reasons, Edwardes spins out one more out of his fancy: the challenge of tropical health hazards built up in the rulers of the earlier days resistance, strength and the spirit of adventure. The development of medicine and the improvement of sanitation and hygiene removed the stimulus for the cultivation of these virtues and introduced the vices of dullness and sloth in their place. This rendered the demise of the Empire only a matter of time. "In fact, it seems possible to make a co-relation between the decline of the British Raj and the advances in tropical medicine, as if the psychic climate chan-

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ged with the prophylactic one" (p. 47).

ABOUT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The other major component of the myth relates to the question, how diabolical was the British Government? Was the encounter between Gandhi and the Empire one, between *good* and *evil*, *darkness* and *light*, between the Mahatma and the satanic government of the Raj? Edwardes remarks that the question is simple, though the answer is not. His answer, all the same, is that the British Raj was not all black, but "a mixture of the good, mediocre, and a little bad", not a series of Amritsars or a sort of continuing Vietnam". (p. 257).

GANDHI'S PERSONALITY AND POLICY

As for Gandhi, he was a maimed personality, lacking in ordinary human love, occupied in continuing experiments with sex in his pursuit of the unnatural law of *Brahmcharya*. "It was not, in fact, until.....after the birth of his fifth child that Gandhi made a serious attempt to dominate his sexual desires. He did so—though not altogether successfully—in a very Hindu way: he turned his attempt into a magical act, thereby converting an abstention into a profit. Gandhi exchanged sex for power, or thought he had" (p. 184).

Edwardes proceeds to reflect more generally on Hindu life and observes: "Gandhi's life was a Hindu life, and his message was Hindu also. Hindu morality is centred upon the self and self-realization. It has little concern for others" (p. 256).

The author's remark on Gandhi's lack of true political policy and want of time sense can be placed in this same context and is worth nothing: "...the Mahatma had no policy... he did not look to the future with logic and carefully formulated plans.

His response was only to the present. For him the future consisted only of a present that had not yet presented him with its problems. Gandhi was never aware of the reality of historical development. True to the Hindu spiritual tradition, he was consciously aware of *eternity*, but time was of no consequence" (p. 201).

ABOUT INDIA

Elsewhere he reveals the paradigm of Gandhi's India: "the absence of any fundamental questioning of traditional structures, the tolerance of absurd and dangerous irresponsibility, as long as it was supported by tradition; and the lack of concern with cruelty to both humans and animals" (p. 181-182).

The self-righteous tone of the author cannot be missed by the reader in the remarks on the princes of India: "There were so many wicked princes in India that the record of their lives is more like an additional volume by the Brothers Grimm than a glossary of the sort of people one would expect to be allies of *such a moral people as the British*. But as in so many things, India provided the exceptions" (p. 180) (emphasis added).

True to their symbiotic relationship, the British Raj and the Mahatma died together. Nevertheless the menace of the myth of the Mahatma still threatens not only India, but also the West. Perhaps India does not deserve better but the state of the West is surely a cause for concern. "That such a man should be considered as an exemplar in the West is indicative of another sort of poverty inside the Western culture itself" (p. 260).

Edwardes' book is undoubtedly provocative, but it is disappointing. It is rambling and casual, "not intended as either a biography of Gandhi or a history of the Raj, but a series of interlinked commentaries upon the factual, rather than the mythic, nature of British rule in India and of its most publicized opponent" (p. 12).

OPPOSITION OR CO-OPERATION?

In the author's view, the opposition between Gandhi and the Raj was apparent. In truth, it was one of cooperation and mutual sympathy. The type of opposition that Gandhi offered—characterized by the author as a sort of political blackmail—was such as not to cause undue anxiety to the government. A generally civilized government like the British could, for the most part, albeit with occasional acts of repression, put up with Gandhi, because he was no revolutionary. But for him, more serious and violent threats to the Empire might have been unleashed. Gandhi stood as a barrier against such dangers to the Raj, and the British were fully conscious of the utility of the Mahatma. Gandhi's role in the history of the Empire was just this and nothing more.

One important question arises out of the author's essay in demythology—would the end of the Empire have come about without the Indian freedom movement and without Gandhi's leadership? Would the historical design have worked itself out without the effort of human agency? Would the Empire have retreated if Gandhi had not become the national leader and supplied tempo and direction to the national struggle? These aspects of the problem ought to have been considered as a sequel and complement to the present negative exercise.

It is not a little surprising that several errors of spelling, including the name of Gandhi himself, have been allowed in this book by such a prestigious publisher.

Dr. G.N. Sharma scholar of western political thought and modern Indian history retired (in 1980) as Professor and Head of Department of Political Science, Marathawad University, Aurangabad. He is the author of a well known book on Harold J. Laski published by Orient Longman with its second edition by Sterling (1985).

Gandhi and Hindi Writers

Pratibha Jain

GANDHIAN IDEAS, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND CREATIVITY

Rawat Publications, Jaipur (1985) pp. xviii+213, Price Rs. 175/-

A General Comment

In a novel approach to interpret the history of the years preceding India's independence, Pratibha Jain has picked up three parallel and inter-acting streams of ideas and activities during what has come to be recognised as the age of Gandhi, and in a way, she has added a new dimension or colour to the living process of a history in the making.

Her main focus is on discovering how far and how deep had the Gandhian ideas or values penetrated the minds of our creative writers, especially those writing in the Hindi medium, and how well or otherwise they managed to reflect Gandhian virtues, philosophic concepts and postulates in regard to either truthful and non-violent individual conduct or in the sphere of mass action. Between the source, as if it were, of the new light of Gandhism and its reflection in its concurrent events or its projection in the mirrors upheld by various writers of repute, she has, perhaps deliberately (or perhaps unconsciously) placed the complex format of what she has called **Social Movements**, but what really speaking are or were some burning social problems of the day.

It is a novel approach as we have said; and we hope that soon, some other sociologist or social scientist or literary critic, will come out with an assessment of the manner and extent to which the present author has managed to evolve and put across her thesis. But, in a brief and hurried comment based on a rather rapid reading of the treatise, one would say that given the premises and the contexts of her efforts, perhaps much more could have come out than meets the eye. In her obvious bias in favour of 'Gandhism',

she has taken it all for granted and perhaps well-set and immutable. She has not delineated its slow growth or evolution. As if Gandhism was a gospel truth pronounced once and for all. Though she has set out on a very wide and open approach covering Gandhi's ideas as they emerged rather painfully through one man's experiences and observation or were modified in the context of the changing scenario of national struggle or in response to some political as well as social challenges of his time (for example, the series of protests and agitations, the evil and wild forces of communalism, the problems of untouchability and the depressed classes, the low status of women and the like), the impression that lingers is, as if on all these and other issues, Gandhi had his ready or pre-conceived notions. *Gandhism* thus became a totem-star or even a yard-stick for men and women of that age and their actions or activities. But in reality, it was not so. Gandhi had to suffer the pain and the anguish of not only what he saw or felt, but also the pain and anguish of finding a solution or a way out of the human predicament or social tragedy.

And coming to literature of the era, though she has managed to discover and put together enough and a convincing array of writings of the period to construct her model of interaction and inter-dependence, yet one is left with a feeling that enough is not enough. In the first place, it would appear that her selection of or concentration on a select band of creative writers in Hindi or of the Hindi region (mostly the Gangetic plains) though reasonable from the point of view of illustration and the prac-

tical management of her theme of exposition has perhaps been some what arbitrary. She could have also picked on the literature of some other languages or regions as well, or added these to her study. Gujarati for example, the language in which Gandhi himself wrote such a lot, and the language of the land where Gandhi's impact, both in terms of his physical presence for many long years as well as in a spiritual sense, had been more spontaneous, widespread, deep-rooted and lasting. For that matter, she could have also included specimens from other regions or languages including what may be called the minority areas or regional languages such as Oriya, Urdu/Hindustani or Pushto? And why not English or Indo-English, if you please? After all what had been Dr. Mulk Raj Anand's contribution in the beginning years of his long career if not the projection of Gandhian issues and enunciations? He came out seeking not only Gandhi but even his themes from Gandhism. Again, her concentration on the UP or to some extent the Bihar locales has given a lop-sided presentation. Left out of the picture are many streams and side-lights of Gandhi-inspired writings from other parts of the sub-continent, even some Hindi-speaking (or Hindi reading) areas, other than the Yamuna-Ganga doab.

Gandhi, with his teachings as well as actions both at the personal and public levels and in politics, and above all, through his writings (he wrote volumes, almost about every thing under the sun to all and sundry, so much so that 90 volumes of his collected works have had to be compiled) came to sway the minds of millions, and among them, perhaps most of all, the growing and awakening middle classes, the reading public, and the urban or rural elite and also the professionals and lawyers, even writers. People were influenced and affected by Gandhi in different ways and to different extents. Their responses and reactions were also, therefore, different. That was so with masses too and also with (the so-called) his "Gandhian" followers, or the average congress men and women or

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the constructive workers, the students and teachers and so on. How many had responded to his calls for of *Satyagrah*, *Swadeshi* or *boycott* and now cooperation and lastly *Quit India* ! But perhaps next to his immediate followers and colleagues or the inmates of his various *Ashrams*, if there was any select community which did try, consciously or otherwise, to understand him as a man or mass mobiliser or as a Mahatma, as a philosopher or as a phenomenon, it was the group of nascent writers, writing in all different Indian languages and passing the message on to their readers. (Let us for the time being, leave out the foreign writers or observers and interpreters).

As the years roll by, we are now celebrating the centenaries of many a contemporary writer of Gandhi's generation and genre writing in various India languages. The harvest of Gandhiana or Gandhi-inspired literature is indeed rich and varied ! And it is obvious that Gandhi's reach was well beyond his native Gujarat or even beyond the range of the Hindi belt, the so-called heartland of India. He could reach and sway the masses; he could move and touch the periphery as much as the centre, both in his politics as well through his teachings and writings. So, his impact can be judged better by referring to the way and extent in which he affected the non-Hindi regions, in the far East and deep South of India as, also by referring to the fringe-lands of the Hindustani (Urdu Hindi) belt—Delhi Punjab. Rajasthan and the Central Provinces of those days, the present day M. P....And since he was rather fond of Hindustani as the future lingua francas of free India, perhaps Hindustani literature, if there was any such hybrid, would need to be studied for signs of Gandhian influences. That is what Pratibha Jain's study is about. In fact, perhaps in these regional areas, we may come across quite a large number of 'committed' Gandhian writers, active both in politics and in literature, for whom their writing was a mission to spread the word and the message of Gandhi. May be, all such writers

did not rise to the top ranks. May be their writings were not of the same calibre or status as those of Prem Chand and a few others who have been discussed in this treatise. Nonetheless they had and still have a place amongst writers who have been moved and are imbued with Gandhian ideas or the spirit of Gandhi. Off hand, I can think of one or two names of my own acquaintance such as Haribhau Upadhyaaya from Ajmer (Raj.) and Seth Govinddas from Jubbulpur (C. P. now M. P.). There were many other stalwarts among the poets and a rich or varied crowd of lesser known poets. As suggested earlier, there were scores and even hundreds of others writing in other regional languages who gradually come to assume new stature and popularity, partly because of the spread of literacy and the expansion of the nationalist (often Gandhian or Gandhi inspired) press, but more under the impact of and as vehicles of Gandhian ideas. Many of these regional languages or vernaculars also grew and developed into major languages of the sub-continent in the Gandhian era.

However, perhaps it needs to be conceded that in representing or projecting Gandhi, they were only trying to reflect upon and write about their own life-time. On many burning issues of the day, their reactions were similar to Gandhi's, as they were also the children of the

same age which had produced Gandhi, having an almost similar or parallel outlook and mental make-up. It was not difficult for them to translate or project Gandhism because they were already in tune with the spirit of the times. They were reacting to the changing reality and the spirit of non-violent, non-cooperation or resistance to the alien empire and all it stood for, as well as opposition to social or moral evils. And in the search for a new destiny, they also pleaded or advocated the cause of social reforms. Many did find their inspiration from Gandhi; but that does not mean that they had to wait for or borrow Gandhi's slogans or ideas, and that if Gandhi had not come on the scene, their quests or contents of their creative writings would have been much different. They were also parts of the national and social or moral resurgence which Gandhi represented in his own way.

In other words, they were not regimented by Gandhism or Gandhi, but gave their own semblance or strength to Gandhian ideas and struggles on the political, moral or social fronts as well as in the literary fields of poetry, fiction or drama. Though the committed Gandhi, its were comparative few, it was after all an age of Gandhi and his likes of which Pratibha Jain has tried to feel and trace only three aspects.

—Bhupendra Hooja

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- * **AUGUST 1986—New Delhi** witnessed and played host to the **WORLD CONGRESS ON SOCIOLOGY**. Perhaps our interested or concerned readers would like to write about their impressions or experiences of the same and about the numerous themes or papers presented and discussed there.

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Books Gandhi Read

by Kewal Khanna

The Moral and Political Writings of Mahatma Gandhi—(Vol. I) compiled and edited by Raghavan Iyer contains a long chapter of about 50 pages on books read by Mahatma Gandhi, mostly in jail. On going through the list or his meticulously kept diary, is amazed to learn about a Mahatma and the vast and varied reading done by him in the jail. Though the chapter also covers (items related to esoteric Christianity (1894) or Sufi Mystics (1907) it covers in good detail his systematic studies during his 1922-23 sojourn in the jail and later in 1932 imprisonment. There are day-to-day entries in his jail diary besides an appendix gives the names of about 40-50 titles writing about his jail experiences in the Young India (1924) he himself mentioned a few titles. The range of reading is so vast and varied that it covers Tulsidas *Ramayana*, *Upanishad*, *Satyarth Prakash*, Rise of the Sikh Power and numerous writings in prose and poetry by Kabir, Surdas or other mystic poets and saints.

Gandhi also made in indepth study of the *Gospel of Buddha* by Paul Carus, Ameer Ali's *Spirit of Islam*, Vivekanand's *Rajya Yoga*, *History of Civilization in Europe* by Guizot and a score of other books relating to natural history, about the wisdom of Asia, and Europe, poetical works, voyages and travels and many more relating to religion, mysticism, art and culture.

Gandhi has recalled that, as a growing child or in his adolescence, he had not much taste for reading anything outside the schools books. In his own words, he has admitted that it was in the jail that he developed the taste and his habit of reading, acquired some knowledge of Sanskrit, and studied various Indian

languages like Tamil, Hindi and Urdu. "It was the South African jails which had whetted my appetite".

During his various jail-terms in India, he would draw out a rigid programme of studies. It is difficult to list out all the books which were usually of his own choice, except when ardent friends overwhelmed him with their gifts of what they thought he would like to (or should) read and covered a varied range of subjects from history, religion, mysticism, poetry, civilization and the study of various languages, Gandhi had often remarked that what he would not have missed was the study of the *Mahabharata* and *Upanishads* the *Ramayana* and *Bhagavata*. The sustained reading of Scott's *Practical Works, Life and Voyages of Columbus*, *Tropical Agriculture*, *Five Nations* by Kipling, the *Young Crusader* and innumerable other books read by Gandhi in jail was a unique achievement by itself. Gandhi also developed the habit of writing out extracts and reviews of the books read by him in jail, which were later used for publication in the *Young India* under the heading "*My Jail Experiences*". Thus he became a successful communicator of ideas and experiences of many others, sages and scholars of all ages countries and after assimilating and absorbing the sense in his own mind. His studies also, therefore, acquired a deeper meaning for himself and his contacts or followers and a social purpose, as if it were.

What he read and assimilated became a part of his thinking, his philosophy of social and moral regeneration of mentioned through non-violence. *Satyagrah* and *Ahimsa*. Quoting from J. Brierly in "*Ourse-levies and the Universe* Gandhi has said, "To wish ill, to do ill or to think ill, we are all equally forbidden without exception".

In a letter to Chhaganlal Joshi written from jail dated 3rd July 1932 Gandhi had commented on the "Assimilation of Reading". He,

wrote, "All the food that is digested is not transformed into blood etc., but what is assimilated is transformed into the various elements which sustain or build the body. In the same way, what we read, should be assimilated by us, just as manure is assimilated by the tree; as a result, it bears fruit". On many occasions Gandhi has emphasised that reading without reflection is only an action of mental disease. One must 'learn to think'. People should reflect over what they read. This is systematic thinking. "One who reads and does reflection will experience great inner joy and benefit from all that he reads". Gandhi had commented in one of his jail letters that "there is a class of us to which many of us belong. They read and read until they almost lose their power of thinking. To such people I suggest that they should stop reading and think over what they have previously read." It was Gandhi who had assimilated, reflected and continuously pondered over what he read.

His love for books of diverse variety and a catholic approach to reading were exemplary. To us who look back in wonder over the unique being or phenomenon that Gandhi was, it comes as a pleasant surprise that he was ever so conscious and diligent about adding to his knowledge and improving his mind as such, while he was grappling with problems of social reform or the struggle for Indian freedom and questions of individual conduct or social responsibility, moral philosophy and human values. How one wishes that most (if not all) of his camp followers and immediate companions and more important, the present-day Gandhians or Congressmen had also cared to follow his example in this regard as Jawaharlal did or Azad and some other stalwarts. How different and perhaps positive would have been their views of the contemporary world and their visions of tomorrow.

Kewal Khanna is Director of Finance with the Jaipur Development Authority.

THE MORAL AND POLITICAL WRITINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI Volume-I : Edited by—Raghavan Iyer—Published by Clarendon Press, Oxford

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The UN-40 Years Old

Dr. Asha Hans

THE UNITED NATIONS : (A SAGA OF 40 YEARS)

Amar Prakashan, Delhi, 1986, pp. 298, Rs. 300.

Reviewed by S. Gupta

The author who is attached to the Department of Political Science, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, states in the preface that this book covers the activities of the United Nations since it was established 40 years ago and assesses "its contribution to the peaceful existence of the world's peoples".

It contains ten chapters and 4 appendices besides a bibliography and index. The first three chapters provide the historical background to the establishment of the United Nations... the evolution of the idea of an international organisation, the establishment and working of the League of Nations and the birth of the United Nations. The next five chapters deal with the principal organs of the U. N. i. e. the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice and assess the work done by them in the principal fields of their jurisdiction. The last two chapters are devoted to the structure of the U.N. Secretariat, the problem of financing and the question of amendment and review of the Charter.

The appendices include texts of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals of 9th October 1944, the United Nations Charter signed at San Francisco on 26th June 1945, the Statute of the International Court of Justice, which is a continuation of the Permanent Court of International Justice established by the League of Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the U. N. General Assembly on 10th December, 1948. As such, it is a useful compendium of information about the premier international organisation of the world.

The book deals with a subject of great importance and interest, both from the academic and practical points of view; and that is why published literature on the United Nations is vast in quantity and many publications contain detailed, precise and very thought-provoking analyses of the various aspects of organisation, working and problems. In this context, it seems to me that the book under review can serve the purpose of ready reference for students in our colleges and universities, who need to be informed and kept up to date in their knowledge about the United Nations and its "unique personality", as the author has put it. The future of the UN system of peace, security and human welfare through mutual co-operation rests with them and the new generation.

It is imperative, however, that the text (of such a handy guide (book) should remain free of errors. The author would be well-advised to ensure that the mistakes of grammar, punctuation and spelling, which abound throughout the book are removed as soon as possible so that it becomes readable, and the reputations of the author, the printer and the publisher are not affected adversely.

Dr. S. Gupta who retired from the Indian Foreign Service as our Ambassador in Cambodia, a few years ago, has also served as Professor of Modern and Contemporary History in the University of Rajasthan, a Visiting Fellow in the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, and Visiting Professor of History in the University of Allahabad.

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An Additional Comment

In presenting the 40 years' saga of the UN through all the vicissitudes, challenges and bitter-sweet successes, the author has tried to remind the present generation of interested readers and makers of enlightened public opinion of the solemn pledge taken by the war-weary world in 1945, when representatives from four dozen countries from all the continents had affirmed: "We the Peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind...". Thus goes the preamble of the UN Charter.

Peace and not war was the objective of the new world body, which was called the United Nations, though at that very time, the erstwhile Allies had begun to drift apart. Each major participant was counting its gains and losses in the victory, enwrapped in a world-view of its own and with its own future interests uppermost in its mind. Nonetheless in spite of gathering mistrusts and suspicions, the UN was born as a weapon or a common platform for peace. It was also envisaged and proclaimed that peace and security would be maintained; a new order created, with due protection of human rights and conditions of equality; and in the economic, social and cultural spheres, a new era would come of mutual and international co-operation. The changes have come about in the world; but largely outside the UN purview or its initiative.

That dream has been fulfilled partially. No major world war has come; but there have been hundreds of armed conflicts, open skirmishes and smaller wars all over, killing and maiming millions and destroying much material wealth. Major powers, now organised in new combinations of hostile blocs, have kept their powder dry; but they have not refrained from taking sides or fighting by proxy, or stock-piling more destructive and even nuclear

or biological weapons. Their face to face confrontations are common not only in the UN fora, but even across highly alive and tense, frontiers. Yet there is a climate of comparative peace and quite a bit of co-operation. The atmosphere of cold war has not been dispelled nor have mutual mistrust and hostility vanished, so that the 40 years old hopes of humanity, if not belied, have been bedevilled. Whatever success has come the UN way, has been against heavy odds. The tribute that 'the system or the structure has survived some-how' is itself quite eloquent. However, the world, especially the so-called Third World, has continued to hope in the midst of confrontations, crises and confabulations or conference.

More recently, the need has been felt and cleverly voiced through all media that the UN Charter should be revised. Once again, different nation-groups have viewed the matter differently. The U. S. A. and some of its allies have withheld their contributions or threatened to do so until, for example, the voting or decision-taking system is changed. There have been indications that in the face of their stout opposition to the present equilibrium in favour of the nebulous groups of smaller nations on the principle of 'equal sovereignty', some compromise formula has emerged and been adopted. But one wonders if such devices would strengthen the peace-

making and peace-keeping powers of the UN? The fact is the UN has become a wider body, and more universal and perhaps more representative of the realities of an intricate global system of mutual adjustments, while many stalwarts of the past have not (can not) forget their superior status or holier than thou attitude.

The author has also suggested some amendments in the Charter, but these are more of an 'academic and idealistic' nature. In any case, some amendments have since been made, so that those who pay more to the UN funds can hope to call their tunes, when the time comes.

According to the author, the Security Council has also become the battle-ground of rigid attitudes; and the Veto by one or more Permanent Fives can delay or defeat the very purpose or urgency of its decisions and negative the role of universal peace-keeping entrusted to the world body. The system of collective security is further thwarted by the endless arms race and the growing stock-piles of destructive and nuclear weapons. The world lives on the brink and under the shadow of the "Star War" which may annihilate all, even the non-fighters or the fence-sitters. It is also a challenge to human, and political ingenuity how the UN sanctions can have their teeth, and how the recalcitrants or those who wil-

fully defy the UN can be brought to book.

As the author has surveyed the scene, in matters of legal rights also, the International Court of Justice has proved ineffective, while on the economic front, the gaps and rivalries between nations are extending, and there are more chinks in the armours of the weak and the under-developed than before, because of the widening technology and resources gap.

On the whole, the scenario is not very bright if not utterly gloomy. Yet, the UN lives, as it should in the hearts and minds of the modern citizens of our one world, who seem to have common hopes and aspirations for their common shared destiny of peaceful co-existence. Even if the system is weak and the structure defective, the idea is good and strong. And as it often happens with ideas, it is the public opinion, the voice of the awakened and alive people which can save it.

As far as the academic community in India and the university youth are concerned, Dr. Asha Hans, with all her limitations, has done her part, a good job too. It is for others to respond or to take up from where she has left it. Among others, the budding diplomats and the aspirants or the "competition-wallas" will find this a useful book.

—B. H.

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INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Regional Cooperation & NAM

THREE BRIEF COMMENTS by Arun Chaturvedi

Jayantenuja Bandyopadhyaya

NORTH OVER SOUTH : A NON-WESTERN PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

South Asia Publishers, New Delhi (reprint 1984)

J. Bandyopadhyaya belongs to the generation among the Indian scholars who are well known for their theoretical contributions. The present study provides the "non-western" perspective of international relations. The nation states belonging to South include the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which now form the Group of 77 and the Third World. Their common concern regarding peace, security and world order has been felt and shared by the author at a deeper level. The discussions on *National Character and International Relations* (chapter 5) the *Structure of International Communication* (chapter 6) and *Non-alignment and World Order* (chapter 7) are useful and illuminating. The book suggests many new areas of research where co-operation among the nations of the South is essential so as to convert the present-day exploitative nature of international relations to their own advantage.

Edited by Bhabani Sen Gupta

REGIONAL CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH ASIA Vol. 1 and 2

South Asian Publishers, New Delhi, (1986) Rs. 100/- each.

These two volumes on regional co-operation and development in South Asia have the right kind of approach to the varied issues involved in the debate. The contributors essentially belong to the South Asian countries. They have, therefore, the necessary insight and down-to-earth understanding of the region.

The first volume includes ten articles on the perceptions of military and nuclear arms race problems. In the second volume, the ten articles discuss the political, social and technological aspects and resources of the region.

Three broad groups of scholars have written for these volumes: the first belong to the Centre for Policy Research, the second group consist of political scientists and the third is a group of professionals. Among these three group, the professionals seem to be in a better position to understand the issues involved in regional co-operation. To them, the understanding of purely technological issues requires greater political insights. The articles on "*Communication Policy*" by Suneet Vir Singh (Vol. 1) and R. R. Subramanian's "*A Technological Base for South Asia Regional Co-operation*" (Vol. 2) are useful from this point of view. Urmila Phandnis' article "*Ethnic Tensions in South Asia ; Implications for Regional Co-operation*" is also very refreshing. Bhabani Sen Gupta edited volumes are welcome additions to current reading on So-

uth Asia, so is this neatly brought out set from South Asian Publishers.

Edited by V. D. Chopra

NAM SUMMIT : NEW DELHI TO HARARE

Patriot Publishers, New Delhi, 1986

The present volume consists of 24 articles on different themes and issues related to NAM by various scholars and diplomats. These have been divided into four sections, viz. : *Global Significance, NAM and India, NAM and Africa, and Problems of Development and South - Cooperation*. The volume has been given an ideological thrust by P. N. Haksar in his introduction, while articles by K. P. Mishra, Rashiduddin Khan, C. P. Bhambri, Vimal Prasad, A.P. Rana and Ramesh Bhandari are thought-provoking. Problems of Africa have been raised in their right perspective by Shafeeq Naqvi, K. M. Pannikar and Hari Sharan Chhabra. It is a welcome addition to the already growing and exciting literature on NAM.

Dr. Arun Chaturvedi is in the Deptt. of Political Science, Govt. Arts College, Alwar (Rajasthan).

A Letter to the Editor

Sir,

Re : Jana gana mana.....

In the August 1986 issue of the IBC (p. 170) the editors wrote, "...the people are their own destiny makers. (Or did Tagore have some other *Bhagya Vidhata* in view?)", Unfortunately, the answer to the question in the brackets is yes. By *Bhagya Vidhata* Tagore meant God. The poem is in five stanzas. Only the first stanza has been taken as our National Anthem. In the third stanza, the poet compares India to a chariot, driven age after age, by her *Bhagya Vidhata* over an uneven path which sometimes rises and at other times falls. In the fourth stanza, the *Bhagya Vidhata* is a mother who protected her children in her embrace in the dark periods of Indian history.

In analogy of *Vox Populi vox Dei*, of course, we can equate people with God, and then they become their own destiny makers.

A. K. R. (Jaipur)

CHAITANYA ---- 500 YEARS

A LIFE SKETCH — by A. K. Roy

(Among the saint-singers of medieval times who left their deep imprint on the minds of the Indian people, especially in the eastern regions, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu had a unique place as the founder of a popular cult. His fifth centenary was celebrated early this year. Below we publish a short life-sketch.—Editor)

EARLY LIFE

Chaitanya was born on the 27th February, 1486 (Gregorian calendar) at Navadvipa (Nadia) in West Bengal, where his father Jagannath Misra had come to settle from the Sylhet district (now in Bangla-Desh). Sylhet at that time was suffering from natural calamities, and was politically disturbed. Jagannath had some land in Sylhet, and was comparatively well off. Chaitanya's mother, Shachi Devi, was the daughter of Nilambara Chakravarti, also from Sylhet. He too had settled down in Navadvipa along with all his relations. Nilambara was an influential person in Navadvipa, and the local Muslim administrator treated him with respect.

Chaitanya's proper name was Vishvambhar, but his pet name was 'Nimai' since his birth. This might mean 'bitter as the neem leaves', perhaps to keep Yama, the god of death, away from him, as this god had taken away a number of his sisters soon after their birth. When later he became a *sannyasi*, he took the name Krishna-Chaitanya, though he is mainly known as Chaitanya.

Chaitanya was sent to one of the numerous *toles* of Navadvipa for studies. These *toles* were higher schools of Sanskrit learning. A boy could join a *tole* after some elementary education at home. Each *tole* specialized in one or two subjects. The *tole* to which Chaitanya was sent taught grammar and prosody. But before he could complete his studies his father died; and Chaitanya had to earn his living. He opened a *tole* and started teaching.

When Chaitanya was 16 or 17, he married Lakshmi-priya, a girl from a poor family whose father could hardly afford her dowry; but young Chaitanya was keen to marry her.

The next few years he spent in Navadvipa as a teacher. He knew his subjects, grammar and prosody well, and tried to show off his knowledge whenever he found an opportunity.

Chaitanya's biographers have tried to prove that he was a very learned person, particularly in prosody, and he could point out the defects in the compositions of renowned versifiers of his time. Navadvipa at that time was a university town. There were *toles* or colleges teaching not only grammar

and prosody, but also literature, the various systems of philosophy, astronomy and astrology, *Navya-Nyaya* (New Logic), etc. *Navya-Nyaya* had its beginning in Mithila about a 100 years earlier, but from the 15th century onwards, Navadvipa was the main centre of this school; and a man who got a degree of *Bhattacharya* in *Navya-Nyaya* from a *tole* in Navadvipa was honoured as a learned person. Many of his contemporaries thought that if Chaitanya could have continued his studies, he would have certainly got this degree.

Some people in Navadvipa used to gather at the house of one *Advaita* in the evenings to dance and sing the name of Krishna. Chaitanya would make fun of them and tease them. But everybody in town liked this handsome young-man, and nobody took his teasing to heart.

After some time, he went by boat to East Bengal. Details of his itinerary there are not known. Most probably the purpose was to sell off his ancestral property in Sylhet, because some of his biographers say that he brought a lot of money from there. However, on his return home he learnt that his wife had died of snake-bite during his absence.

Some time later, he married again, a girl called Vishnu-priya. Her father was a rich man, and it was he who had proposed the match. Chaitanya's relations with Vishnu-priya are not clearly known. His main biographers are silent on this point. Chaitanya had loved his mother very much. When he became a *sannyasi* and left home, his mother's grief and the manner in which he tried to console her are vividly described in his biographies; but there is no mention in these works that he even bid fare-well to his wife.

THE AWAKENING

Some time after his second marriage, Chaitanya went to Gaya for offering *sraddha* to his ancestors. There he met one Ishvar Puri, a devotee of Krishna and became his disciple. When he came back home he was devotee of Krishna himself. He joined the group of people whom he once teased for singing and dancing in the name of Krishna; and started his *nagar-sankirtan* or singing and dancing on the streets of Navadvipa. The local *kazi* did not like all this noise, but Chaitanya led his companions and danced and sang in front of the *kazi's* house. Some of them damaged the plants in the *kazi's* garden. But the *kazi* kept quiet, and did not punish them. He was perhaps impressed with their fervour. Perhaps the fact that Chaitanya was the grandson of his old friend Nilambara also went in his favour.

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Chaitanya did not worry about the caste or religion of persons who joined his group of Krishna devotees. Two such persons are noteworthy. One was Haridas, a Muslim. Apparently, he found satisfaction in this 'emotional' religion, and would not give it up even though he was severely punished for abandoning the strict *Islamic* form. Chaitanya had great respect for Haridas. The other companion was Nityananda who had become an *avadhuta*, a kind of recluse in his younger days and left his home. He came back to Navadvipa and joined Chaitanya's group. Nityananda was addicted to drink and was not very particular about what food he ate, but he had qualities of leadership; and Chaitanya recognized this at once. When he became a *sannyasi* and left Navadvipa to live in Puri in Orissa, he asked Nityananda to assume the leadership of the Krishna devotees in Navadvipa. Nityananda organized the *Vaishnava* movement in Bengal in such a manner that it has lasted all these 500 years. Chaitanya had inspired the movement by his saintly and devotional life; but without Nityananda's organizing ability, it might not have survived long after Chaitanya's death.

THE YOUNG SANNYASI

When Chaitanya was 24 years old, he suddenly decided to become a *sannyasi*, an ascetic. He crossed over the Ganga, went to Katwa, and took the vows of *sannyasa* under Keshava Bharati. His name was now Krishna Chaitanya Bharati. Bharati is one of the ten orders of *sannyasis*, called Dasnamis, and the orders are said to have been started by Shankara in the 8th or 9th century. Shankara believed in *Advaita Vedanta*, which proclaimed that Brahman and the individual human self were one. That being so, there was no scope in this system of *bhakti* or devotion to God, for otherwise it would mean devotion to one's own self. Throughout his life, Chaitanya was conscious of this difficulty or contradiction.

Shortly after taking *sannyasa*, Chaitanya left for Puri in Orissa, where he was received well by the people. Sarvabhauma Bhattacharya, a famous learned man, and Kashi Misra, the *guru* of the king of Orissa, were among his early devotees. Chaitanya lived in the garden house of Kashi Mishra in Puri. Later the king of Orissa also became his devotee.

After about a year, Chaitanya went on a pilgrimage to south India and visited all the important religious places there, and on his way back, he passed through Maharashtra and Gujarat.

VISIT TO VRINDAVAN

In 1513, he started for Vrindavan. When he was passing through Bengal, a large number of peo-

ple joined him for the pilgrimage. Sanatana and Rupa, two senior officers of the Nawab of Bengal, met him and dropped a hint that travelling with a big crowd, he might arouse the suspicion of the Nawab. Chaitanya, therefore, went back to Puri. After a few months he started again for Vrindavan. This time he passed through the forests of North Orissa and South Bihar. During his travels, he spent some time in Prayag and Varanasi also.

In Vrindaban, he found that the spots associated with the sport or *leela* of Krishna in his Vrindaban days, which had been described in the *Puranas* could not be located. Meanwhile, Sanatana and Rupa resigned from their service with the Nawab of Bengal and met Chaitanya in Prayag and Varanasi. Chaitanya advised them to settle down in Vrindavan to discover the spots associated with Krishna's sport, and write books on Vaishnavism. The brothers followed this instruction. They and their nephew, Jiva, who joined them later, wrote many books on Vaishnavism, and thus provided a sound philosophic base for the religion of Chaitanya.

SONG & DANCE

All this voluminous literature in Sanskrit, however, had little effect on the course of the *Chaitanya* movement in Bengal. People there cared little for the abstruse philosophy developed in Vrindavan. They followed Chaitanya's example, and danced and sang in Krishna's name. Some of them thought that Chaitanya was a joint incarnation of Radha and Krishna. They built Chaitanya's statues and started worshipping these.

The only word that Chaitanya used in his singing was the name of Krishna. This was too monotonous for the common people. Poets arose who composed songs depicting the love of Radha and Krishna. Radha in these songs was the devotee and Krishna was God incarnate; but the songs could also be interpreted as depicting the love between man and woman. As love lyrics, these songs have not been surpassed in the Bengali literature even today.

Chaitanya went back to Puri, where he lived until his death nearly 18 years later, in 1533. Every day he followed the same routine. In the morning, he visited the temple of Jagannath; and the day he passed in dancing and singing the name of Krishna. In the evening, he discussed the *leela* or sport of Krishna with close friends. The routine varied a little when the group of his devotees came to see him all the way from Navadvipa. These devotees came every year without fail as long as he lived. Apparently he was a very attractive personality.

The manner of Chaitanya's death is not given in his standard biographies. Some minor biographers say that he was wounded in his foot by a piece of brick while dancing. The wound became septic and he died.

KRISHNA BHAKTI AND BENGAL RENAISSANCE

Chaitanya was not a religious teacher. He had no disciples, and he wrote no books. He lived the life of a religious devotee, and people learned from his example. He did not care for the caste of any person. If he found that a man was a devotee of Krishna, he would embrace him regardless of his caste. Life in Bengal became more egalitarian after Chaitanya so far as caste was concerned.

The main religion of Bengal at that time was the worship of the Mother goddess in her various forms. This worship was often accompanied by animal sacrifice and drinking of liquor. Devotion to Krishna was practised by some people, but this was not considered much of a respectable religion. Chaitanya's example changed the attitude of the people towards Krishna worship, and a large number of people adopted this softer religion. In the beginning, it was Brahmanas and other higher caste people who joined the movement, but shortly the lower caste people found that they were not discriminated against. Many of them joined the movement and some rose to become leaders of groups of devotees.

The Chaitanya movement also gave a new thrust to Bengali literature. Mention has already been made of the numerous love lyrics, writing of which started shortly after his time. Bengali literature, until then, was mostly confined to writing of poems and songs in praise of folk goddesses.

Chaitanya's life inspired many people to write his biography; in fact, they had started writing some songs and plays about him even when he was alive. But full-fledged biographies started being written

shortly after his death. Thus a new genre of literature was born.

Architecture and plastic arts also got an impetus. With the growing importance of the cult of Radha and Krishna in Bengal, a large number of (their) temples were built in the 16th and 17th centuries. Their terracotta decoration is "Vaishnava not merely in subject matter, but in spirit—the rhythmic abandon and profusion."

Chaitanya's advent brought in a sort of renaissance in the life and culture of Bengal. After the great days of Palas and Senas, Bengal was dormant for nearly 300 years. It flowered again with the coming of Chaitanya at the end of the 15th century. But this nascent culture was based on Bengali, and not on Sanskrit as in the earlier period.

Author's—Note : The two standard biographies of Chaitanya in Bengali are *Chaitanya-Bhagavata* by Brindaban Das and *Chaitanya-Charitamrita* by Krishnadas Kaviraj. The latter was translated into English by Jadunath Sarkar as *Chaitanya and His Times*.

Dr. Ashim Kumar Roy retired from government service (in the IAS) in 1978, and since then, has been engaged in reading and writing about Indian history and culture. His published works include *A History of the Jaipur City* (Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1984); *A History of the Jains* (Gitanjali Publications, New Delhi, 1984); *Brindaban Theke Jaipur* (in Bengali) (Jijnasa, Calcutta, 1985); *Indus Valley Civilization—A Bibliographic Essays* (Oxford & I.B.H. 1980); and *A Dictionary of Indology* (in 4 volumes) (Oxford and IBH, New Delhi 1982-86). In the last two works, N.N. Gidwani, former Director of the Rajasthan University Library, has collaborated with Roy.

BOOKS RECEIVED (Sept.-Oct. 86)

(Including books received in a personal capacity or books received earlier and reviewed briefly)

Oxford University Press Publications

Chhatrapati Singh

Law from Anarchy to Utopia

pp. xxi+299 Price Rs. 150/-

K. N. Raj, Neeladri Bhattacharya, Sumit Guha & Sakti Padhi (Editors)

Essays on the Commercialisation of Indian Agriculture

pp. xx+354 Price Rs. 130/-

Jan Breman

Of Peasants, Migrants and Paupers—Rural Labour Circulation and Capitalist Production in West Asia

pp. xzvii+472 Price Rs. 195/-

Jawaharlal Nehru

G. Parthasarathi (Ed)

Letters to Chief Ministers—1947 to 1964 (Vol. 47-49)

Jagdish Bhagwati—Editor : Gene Grossman

Vol. I. Wealth & Poverty; Vol. II. Dependence &

Independence

pp. 319 & xii+396 Price Rs. 110/- Rs. 120/-

Pamela Nightingale

Fortune and Integrity—A study of Moral Attitudes in the Indian Diary of George Paterson (1769-1774) 1985

pp. 238 Price Rs. 140/-

North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong (Meghalaya) Publications

Krishna Haldipur

Around the Hills & Dales of Arunachal Pradesh (1985)

pp. ii+82+2 Price Rs. 50/-

Amlan Datta : The Gandhian Way (1915)

pp. 78 Price Rs. 45/-

P. N. Mathur

Socio-Economic Schism of Indian Polity and Gandhi (1985) pp. 111 Price Rs. 30/-

STUDIES ON COMMUNALISM

(Some issues for research identified at the Research Methodology Course (July-August 1986) organised by the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID) Chandigarh).

A Report by—Pramod Kumar & Rashpal Malhotra

"Communalism is not 'inevitable' or 'unavoidable' in India... It is not caused by religious differences... It comes about when (interested or uninformed) persons exploit differences (social economic or political etc.) or lack of equal opportunities on communal and religious grounds... They distort the prevailing social reality... .

"Communalism is largely a recent and modern phenomenon (in India) which has its basis in the regional or sectional conflicts arising out of the specific nature of capitalist development.....

"Our anti-colonial liberation movement was, by and large, non-communal....".

"Communalism is an outcome of the failure of the state to inculcate national consciousness among the people in independent India.

"Politics becomes communal when political groups or parties tend to mobilise people by creating among them feelings of 'communal' or 'sectional' distinctions and 'separateness' from others on the ground of competitive social, economic, cultural or political interests."

These were some of the views expressed and discussed at length during a six-week long course in July-August on Research Methodology to study "communalism in all its varied aspects" held at the CRRID, Chandigarh.

Inaugurated by Dr. Manmohan Singh, Deputy Chairman Planning Commission, presided over by Mr. P. N. Haksar, Chairman, CRRID and attended by about 25 participants from universities and other educational institutions, the course was concluded by Professor R. P. Bambah, Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University, with a valedictory function on August 14. The participants were researchers and teachers from different educational institutions in the northern region, and they interacted with nearly four dozen scholars and intellectuals of repute. (May please see the list at the end of this note).

WHAT IS COMMUNALISM ?

First, an attempt was made to bring out the conceptual differences in understanding and combating communalism to arrive at a minimum understanding on communalism and also to expose the dangers inherent, in a communal understanding of communalism,

It was suggested that communalism is to believe or to propagate the socio-economic and political interests of *one* religious, caste or an ascriptive group as dissimilar, divergent, and antagonistic to those of another. It is a false ideology as it reflects the objective reality, not inadequately but in a distorted way. For example, if there is widespread unemployment, the communalists do not question *the causes* which provide inadequate opportunities for employment. Instead, they seek a reallocation of the available scarce job opportunities along religious, caste or other ascriptive group lines.

COMMUNALISM AND RELIGION

Most speakers were of the view that communalism is not caused by religious differences. A religious person is not necessarily communal. However, if *over-religious*, people are prone to communalism. Communalists, however, use religion as an instrument to cement communal monoliths. The focus of the communalist propaganda is based on *the differences, real or imaginary, between religious, caste or other ascriptive groups*. The communalists ignore or pretend ignorance about the **common traditions** of cultural heritage, history and language, which are shared by people and which transcend religious, caste as also other ascriptive group differences.

Antagonism is a crucial element of communalism which is given the *moral garb of religion* to perpetrate inhuman acts such as looting, rioting, arson and killings. **Communalism, in fact, is anti-religion.** What it projects to be in the interest of a particular religious group is not merely false; on the contrary, it uses religion as a vehicle to protect or promote some interests other than those it claims to serve. Communalists try to appeal to the fears of their co-religionists by raising slogans such as Hinduism in danger, Islam in danger, Sikh Panth in danger, and so on.

The communal stereotypes prevalent among sections of one religious group are often contested by sections belonging to another religious group perceived to be antagonistic. For example, Muslim communalists often accuse 'Hindus' of being communal and unkind towards minorities. The Hindu communalists protest against such accusations and try to project themselves as 'magnanimous' (?) by propagating that Muslims are 'allowed' (?) to reside in India, even after Pakistan was 'granted' to them in 1947. Hindu communalists also allege that

'Muslims' are 'hostile' to 'Hindus' and that 'Hindus' have been 'eliminated' from Pakistan.

Hindu communalists also put forward the charge that Muslims are 'anti-national', (if they 'celebrate' the victories of Pakistani sports' teams over Indian teams or there is a lurking fear that they would greet Pakistani soldiers with garlands, or it is alleged that during Indo-Pakistan wars, the sympathy of every Muslim was with Pakistan.) Muslim communalists rebut such charges by referring to the active role of 'Muslims' in the freedom struggle and in the two wars against Pakistan. Muslim communalists also counter-charge the Hindus with sowing seeds of national disintegration by always suspecting the integrity and patriotism of 'Muslims'. And the slinging match goes on. While each side blames the other, a vicious climate of doubts and fears, suspicion, misunderstandings and accusations is created.

Besides mentioning such occasions of clash of perceptions and attitudes, the participants tried to list out other instances when communalists accept the communal stereotypes propagated by their rivals so as to create and widen communal cleavages. For example, Hindu communalists immediately start perscribing a 'code of conduct for 'Muslims'. Repeated propagation of such notions reinforces mutual fears and feelings of insecurity, which in turn go to strengthen Hindu, Muslim or Sikh separate identities.

Thus communalism uses religion, caste, or other ascriptive group affinities. So it is commonly believed that communalism is caused by ascriptive group differences, and has existed ever since religion, caste, or other ascriptive groups came into being.

From this flow **two contradictory views** on the ways to overcome communalism. Firstly, it is believed that religious groups must tolerate each other and live in a spirit of brotherhood. Secondly, if it becomes unavoidable, members of antagonistic religious groups must be expatriated or eliminated. One of the consequences of this approach is the widespread sympathy for communalists and communal rioters. (The activities of terrorists and the flight of panic-stricken residents of Punjab are some other consequences of the belief that elimination and expatriation will somehow solve the problem of communalism). Contemporary history is witness to the fact that religious and ascriptive differences have merely been used by sectional groups to further their narrow economic and political interests.

COLONIAL DOMINATION : NATIONALISM AND COMMUNALISM

There was a general appreciation among the course participants that communalism was **not** conspired (!) into existence by the British. However, once communalism appeared, due to the social con-

ditions prevailing in India, **the British did use it** to perpetuate their rule. Many speakers held the view that there did exist some sort of mistrust and suspicion among members of different religious groups, which was exploited by the colonialists to govern their colonies. And this (mistrust or suspicion) continues even after independence of these colonies.

Some other speakers felt that colonial rulers, particularly the British, caused communal tensions among their 'subjects' to rule them, as in Malaysia, Nigeria and India. It was also pointed out by some speakers that **the French colonial authorities did not resort to communalism in Morocco, and neither did the Dutch colonialists do so in Indonesia**. So it was claimed by them that communalism, in its existing form and magnitude, was a typical phenomenon experienced in ex-colonial countries ruled by the British.

However, **the anti-colonial liberation movement was not communal**. It did not attract or mobilize Indians as Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs against the British who were mostly Christians. However, the parties and leaders of the movement had an insufficient comprehension of secularism. They made *alliances with communalists* as in the Lucknow Pact with Muslim League and the Poona Pact with the self-claimed representatives of what were then called "depressed classes" (present-day scheduled castes). Besides, minor concessions were often made to communalists by the forces in the mainstream of the liberation movement on the understanding that a denial of such concessions will inflame communalism. History has proved the reverse, that is, these concessions to communalists have inflamed the intensity and increased the appeal of communalism.

During the freedom struggle, communalism receded with the growth of nationalism.

It was pointed out that communalism is, therefore, an outcome of the *failure by the State to inculcate national consciousness in independent India*. Some other speakers disputed this over-emphasis on nationalism as an ideological anti-dote to communalism. They felt that during the period of the freedom struggle, nationalism was a progressive ideology. In independent India, national disintegration can be one consequence of communalism, but so can communalism cause fascism. Hence, communalism has to be seen in its totality.

Communalism is an outcome of the failure to understand and resolve our diverse social problems in a secular and democratic way.

These speakers felt that 'nationalism' in independent India is a slogan, and is not a substitute for the problems of social inequalities : brutalization and dehumanization of societies through widespread unemployment, corruption, and denial of civil liberty etc. They advocated that people should first be

mobilized along secular and class lines to fight against these problems. Only then can the anti-imperialist stance of Indian nationalists become meaningful.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNALISM

Some speakers pointed out that communalism is a modern phenomenon and has its basis in the conflicts arising out of the specific nature of capitalist development in India. It not only acquires a communal colour, but operates through traditional and modern structures. In a situation of scarce resources and a relatively stagnant economy, the generation of **competition for jobs etc. along communal lines** benefits in the short run, some individuals or groups from the middle classes. Those who fail to gain are naturally dis-contented. Communal propaganda by communal leaders and political leaders seek to give a communal colour to this struggle between (or amongst) various sections, strata or classes of society as one between communities.

After Independence, as some speakers felt, the approach of the ruling elite to communalism has been faulty. In the initial years of independence or up to the sixties, the academicians, political leaders, planners, administrators and leaders in commerce and industry, seemed to have made a **conceptual error** in understanding and combating communalism. They thought that 'technological and economic development' would automatically subsume retrogressive tendencies like parochialism, regional chauvinism, etc. Also, that such development will ultimately lead to the emergence of a new kind of socio-economic groupings and identities, under-cutting the bases upon which communal (i. e. caste, religious, tribal, racial) politics rests. It was also believed that 'communal particularism' will be submerged by the 'universalistic' character of market forces.

What has been happening is just the opposite. Industrialized towns (or pockets of technological development) like Jamshedpur, Ahmedabad, Vadodra, Thane, Bhiwandi, Bombay, Hyderabad, Delhi, Kanpur and Rourkela have witnessed continuous and brutal communal rioting.

Agriculturally developed Punjab and immensely backward tracts in Orissa, Bihar, Assam, West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir, Tripura etc. are also rocked by conflicts stemming from linguistic, regional, casteist and religious chauvinism.

All these facts question the validity of the over-emphasis on growth rates, per capita incomes and the like. However, communalism is not inevitable in India. The co-existence of secularism and capitalism will depend on the choices made by the ruling classes in India. The ruling classes have used communal cleavages to perpetuate their domination

and secure electoral gains. **There has been no effort by them to inculcate secular values and launch an ideological struggle against communalism. The essence of secularism lies in the separation of the state from religion and the separation of educational practices from religion.**

STATE, POLITY AND COMMUNALISM

In this context, the nature of Indian State was discussed. Some speakers alleged that the Indian State is getting increasingly 'communalized', as can be seen from the following developments or situations :—

- (a) The state authorities have often given active or tacit support to elements who foment or engineer communal riots on different occasions. (The Delhi, Kanpur and Rourkela riots of November 1984, were cited as examples in this context).
- (b) The electoral politics is almost based on communal configurations and 'caste arithmetic'.
- (c) Widespread discrimination is practised in employing persons and distributing licences, quotas, subsidies etc. to them both in public and private sectors.
- (d) Religious symbols are freely used in public celebrations at government functions and even to launch programmes for environmental protection in recent years.

Some scholars, however, strongly denied the contention that India was a communal state. (They drew the attention of the course participants to the distinction between Lebanon which is a communal state and India which is a weak secular state). Indian constitution does not regard society to be organized on religious, caste or other ascriptive groups lines. Hence, in the liberal traditions, the Constitution **guarantees certain rights to all the citizens** of India irrespective of religion, caste, sex etc. However, it is to be noticed that, in the conservative tradition, India's constitution also guarantees certain privileges like 'reservations' in public appointments and in legislatures to ascriptive groups.

These scholars further conceded the dichotomy between constitutional provisions and their practice. political parties have, it was observed, used communal organizations in elections or to form governments and even engineered communal riots.

ADMINISTRATION

Agents of the State in administration were also discussed. The speakers countered the notion that administration as such was communal, though it was accepted that certain administrative personnel

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may be communal, and their decisions may be prejudicial. The speakers were of the view that any sound administration is impersonal. But *some Indian administrators have become partisan* towards their co-religionists or caste fellows etc. and indifferent towards the socially under-privileged sections.

With regard to police administration, it was felt that the police personnel were demoralized not only due to *low salaries*, but also due to a *lop-sided training* which over-emphasizes physical fitness *without reference to social responsibilities and democratic, cultural and ideological orientation*. Added to these problems is the problem of frequent transfers and gross political interference. Besides, the senior officers of police no longer look after their ranks as their leaders. In such a situation, the speakers felt, the police personnel act in a partisan fashion in the interest of one communalist organization or another.

The speakers felt that an optimism created by the appointment of efficient officers at key positions is not fair. Such officers can help remedy the situation, provided the vested interests are checked, political interference is decreased and the lower ranks of police personnel are sufficiently motivated and properly trained to work conscientiously in a democratic manner.

In the light of the above, suggestions were made to tone up police administration, provide comprehensive training, reduce political interference and above all, to permit the formation of service organizations and trade unions among police personnel, (To be continued in the next issue of I.B.C.).

(We are obliged to Dr. Rashpal Malhotra, Director, and Dr. Pramod Kumar of CRRID Chandigarh, for this summary of the course report.)

The list of main speakers who responded to the invitation and discussed the various issues with the course participants would be given in next issue.

THE LAST FLICKERS OF A BRIGHT FLAME

October 8, 1936 ! Prem Chand, the then doyen of Indian writers, who has been hailed as "a soldier of the pen" (*Kalam Ka Sipahi*) by his son and literary heir, Amrit Rai, breathed his last.

The last few months of his mortal life were not only full of physical ailments and discomforts, compounded by financial and other human worries, but on the mental plane or in terms of his literary activities and commitments, these were really months of feverish activities and preoccupations, almost like the flickers of a dying bright flame.

His last major work *Godan*, begun in 1932 had been completed late in 1935, and was published in the summer of 1936. By then, he had handed over his latest pet child the *Hans* magazine (founded in 1930 as an all-India literary forum open to all regional language cultures) to the newly constituted *Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad* (Indian Literary Council) as its official organ. As far as his own literary effort was concerned, he was working on his last (incomplete) work *Mangal Sutra*. But this turned out to be a period of frequent journeys to and fro, peripatetic pursuits, numerous public appearances, polemics or prophetic utterances and penetrating writings on a number of then topical issues.

In April, 1935, he had said goodbye to Bombay, the city of tinsel dreams for many young and ambitious souls and a world of the new glamour of the movies, though not for him in his ripe age. He had gone to Bombay in 1934, as a possible route of escape from his pressing financial problems, to join the Ajanta Cinetone Company at an annual contract

of Rs. 8000/-, a fairly big sum by the standards of those days. In spite of that, it was not a pleasant experience for him, what with the dislocation of the family life, personal inconvenience and the need to adjust to a new working environment. At the end of it, he had saved only a few hundred rupees. His earlier work *Bazar-e-Husn* in Urdu (or *Seva Sadan* in Hindi) had been made into a film in Hindustani; and he also penned the scenerio and dialogues for the film *Mill Mazdoor*. Yet another theme *Navjeevan* was on the cards. On the way back from Bombay, he had stopped at Khandwa, Sagour and Allahabad to spend some time with his old personal and literary friends. These halts turned out to be in the nature of his farewell visits.

The year 1936, however, began on a very active and positive note. That year, in January, a few young writers from India living in London, led by Mulk Raj Anand and Sajjad Zaheer and others had founded the India Progressive Writers Association (IPWA) whose inaugural session in India was held in April that year under Prem Chand's chairmanship. Welcoming the constitution of the IPWA, in his letter to the young founders in London, he expressed the hope that the move would "bring about a new vitality and awakening in literature". About the IPWA manifesto, he said that it gave rise to the hope that "if this body adheres to its new path, we may soon see the dawn of a new age in literature." Prem Chand also summarised the manifesto for the benefit of the readers of his magazine.

By mid-January, he was at Allahabad to attend the annual convention of the Hindustani Academy

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(12th to 14th January). By then, and during this spell of his literary career, he had become an active advocate of Hindustani (not Hindi or Urdu, but a happy mixture of the two languages, and closer to the language of the people) about the use and evolution of which Gandhi had also been quite keen. But at this particular session, the Academy seemed to be divided into two separate groups, which made Prem Chand rather unhappy. As he sadly observed in his comments published in the *Hans*, "The wall that has been coming up between Urdu and Hindi (during recent times) was raised a little, higher (at this gathering). If the two communities insist on each singing its own tune, let them; but can't they even bear to listen to the other?"

However, his anguish at the unfortunate and growing divide between a chaste and Persianised Urdu and equally pure and Sanskritised Hindi was soon pushed back into the background with his involvement in the progressive writers' movement. With Sajjad Zaheer at Allahabad leading his one-man's crusade, soon many bright and rising stars on the literary horizons had joined in the nascent movement such as Firaq Gorakhpuri, Dr. Aijaz Husain, Ahmed Ali, Josh Mallihabadi, Maulvi Abdul Haque and Munshi Daya Narayan. (All of them had met at Allahabad at the end of the Hindustani Academy meet to draft their new manifesto). As Prem Chand is reported to have said to his young contemporaries, "You young fellows are really galloping away at a fast pace... I will try to keep in step with you..."

The year 1936 also witnessed Prem Chand's participation in a number of similar literary gatherings or public functions. As Amrit Rai has noted in his biography of Prem Chand entitled *Kalam Ka Sipahi* (1962) translated into English by Dr. Harish Trivedi and published in 1982 by PPH: "Some unseen inspiration seems to draw him every-where, to go and meet every-one he can, to see all he can, to share with every one all that he has acquired through a life-time of suffering, all his joys and sorrows, his experiences, his knowledge, his knowledge, his wisdom...." He was almost shuttling between Banaras and Allahabad with an occasional visit to Agra for a function at St. John's College and for the Annual meeting of the *Nagri Pracharini Sabha* (Society for Propagating Hindi) then to Purnea in Bihar for the *Bihar State Hindi Sahitya Sammelan*, a visit to Delhi about the time of Holi festival and later for the inaugural function of the *Hindustani Sabha* at the Jamia Millia, back to Banaras, then Lucknow (for the IPWA meeting) and to Nagpur for the *Hindi Sahitya Sammelan*, and to Lahore—and so it went on through the summer, till his physical faculties gave way.

It would appear that during these last days of his mortal life, the question of the **National language** viz. Hindustani, the problem of a growing divi-

de between Hindi and Urdu, the beginning of the Indian Progressive Writers' Association (IPWA) and the prospects it held forth, were some of the matters which engaged a lot of his attention.

In connection with his participation in the Hindustani Sabha meet, and later, his attendance at the Jamia Millia-sponsored gathering of Hindi and Urdu writers, he was to observe in the April issue of the *Hans*, "But the times have changed..... The Hindus turn their back on Urdu and Muslims on Hindi. Two separate camps are being formed." How agonising it must have been for him, a writer who had started his long and fruitful literary career in Urdu, then translated his own works in Hindi and had finally come to adopt a common medium between the two—Hindustani. He was to warn his compatriots, "Literature has no truck with politics, for its subject is man, and a man remains a man whatever label he may affix to his forehead. But ours is an age of politics, and there is no field of human endeavour that is not susceptible to political insularity". He was deeply concerned about finding some ways and means to bridge this widening gulf. As he said at the progressive writers' meet, "Language is a means, not an end.....". He went on to say, "In the olden times, the reins of society were held by religion..... now literature has taken over this function..... The temple of literature has no place for the devotees of the self and splendours..... For this temple... we need worshippers for whom service is the meaning of their life; in whose hearts, there is sympathy for the suffering and the passion of love." Perhaps that was also his Credo and his legacy!

His journey also took him to Punjab and its capital, Lahore, to preside over the *Arya Bhasha Sammelan*, where again, after appreciating the role of *Arya Samaj* as a cultural organisation as much as a body of religious and social reform, and praising its work for the uplift of the *harijans* and the breakdown of the caste system, he dwelt at length on the language issue. He said, "A language bears the stamp of our (common) culture. Just as there are various shades in our culture, there are bound to be many shades in the language". He recalled how the Muslims had originally raised the local dialects of the Delhi area to the status of a language, how this language went south to the Deccan, for its early 'childhood', and how earlier, *Amir Khusro* had enriched the language much before the Mughals adopted it as the *laskhari* language, Urdu, the spoken tongue of cantonments and later of the court circles and court poets. All along, there was a popular version, the *Bhasha* thriving in the streets and the homes of the ordinary people. Ultimately, he put his finger on the roots of trouble when he said that it was in Fort William College which recognised "two styles of the same language as two different languages.... The hands which split our language into two, also split our national life into two. The reason for this

partition is probably that our educated elite is getting isolated from the mass of the people, and does not even know how the people express their thoughts and sentiments". He also warned his audience that "any language written or understood by a small educated minority becomes artificial, heavy and lifeless... It fails to reach the hearts of the people and to deliver its message".

His stay at Lahore was full of dozens of meetings and discussions on the two main themes which were uppermost in his mind, the shape or status of the common (national) languages, and the role or challenge of creative writing. He was promoting the cause of the Hindustani Sabha and the Progressive Writers Association as the two vehicles of a common cultural tradition and an expression of ardent patriotism.

Even when he returned to Banares in the hot month of June, and to his final resting place, these matters were very much on his mind. He had the time and energy to also open his final testament, an indictment of the society around him, when he wrote

an essay about the *Mahajani Sabhyata* (the capitalist society) wherein the "one motivation for all action is money". Earlier, about six months ago, in a letter to his friend Banarasi Das Chaturvedi, he had written "... I am glad that temperament and fate have both helped me to cast my lot with the poor".

That then was his final testament, a proclamation of his life-long commitment to the cause of the poor and the humble, the essence or sum total of the volumes he had written. (B. Hooja)

This tribute to the memory of Prem Chand is based on the last few chapters of two of his biographies viz.

- (1) **Munshi Prem Chand—A Literary Biography** by Madan Gopal, published by Asia Publishing House (1964)
- (2) **Prem Chand—A Life** by Amrit Rai in Hindi as *Kalam Ke Sipahi* (1962) translated by Dr. Harish Trivedi and published by the People's Publishing House New Delhi (1982).

The Academic Community, Books And Reviews

A Round Table Discussion

Report by Rakesh Hooja

"University students and teachers alike need to be introduced to good books and encouraged to undertake extra general reading besides their prescribed text books, so that reading becomes a life-long habit with them." This was the essence of some common points which emerged at a half-day round-table open discussion in the Rajasthan University campus on the afternoon of 1st October, organised jointly by the editorial team of the Indian Book Chronicle and the Director University's Social Sciences Research Centre.

The idea was to interact with the local academic community on the place and importance of "Books and Reviews" in the University curriculum, and academic or research studies in particular. About three dozen scholars representing various disciplines, besides the Vice-Chancellor and a few senior citizens as well as retired civil servants had responded to the invitation.

The ball was set rolling by the chief editor of the IBC who explained the purpose of the meet with the hope that many more similar gatherings would be possible not only in the various faculties of the Rajasthan University, but in other universities as well. He referred to the background material circulated for the occasion, which comprised mostly of reprints of a few articles and comments by the IBC founder-editor, Dr. Amrik Singh, on books and the art of book reviewing, as also articles on the Indian book scene by Ashok Ghosh (President, Federation of Indian Publishers) and the well-known writer, K. S. Duggal. The audience was reminded that, while

in terms of number and variety of books published in the various languages, India occupied an important position in the world, in terms of quality, content and actual 'readership', the situation was rather disappointing.

Because of the extremely low-level of literacy, not enough books were being published. There were limited interests which these publications served, and the tragedy was that they were published in very small or limited editions varying between a few hundred in respect of serious academic works and not exceeding 8-10,000 at the maximum for popular works. Visits to book-shops, reading rooms or libraries were no longer the current fashion for the intelligent or the well-to-do sections of society; and many academicians could not afford the 'luxury' of books.

In fact, even in academic circles and institutions of higher learning, the general reading habit was a rare phenomenon; and the "book culture" was dying out. That this has been happening in the modern age, at a time when there has been an unprecedented "explosion in the diverse fields of human knowledge" all over the world, should be a matter of grave concern for all those connected with the pursuit of knowledge and the shaping of public opinion as well as public policy. That was not all. The "information revolution" especially through the audio-visual media of entertainment and information, would soon spell disaster with a further decline in the reading habits of the coming generations.

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VC'S ADVICE

In his inaugural speech, Dr. R. P. Agarwal, Vice-Chancellor of the University echoed similar sentiments, and urged the members of the academic community present to respond to the need for cultivating a genuine 'love for books' and a regular general reading habit amongst the students, which was most necessary in any set-up of university or college level of education. As he put it, "A university or a seat of higher education is no place for any-one who is not interested in books". He added "The library facilities need to be fully utilised and further developed. In the class-rooms and especially in respect of research studies, scholars have to be encouraged to consult more and more books and read other relevant material, not only for their examinations or fields of study, but also to widen their mental Socio or Cultural horizons."

Continuing further, he said, "Reading at the university level, whether in the class-room or outside, needs to be approached with a receptive but critical mind. That is where the art of reviewing comes in, which requires the fostering of critical faculties and specialised techniques of book appreciation and review writing. A summary of the book's contents is necessary, but it is not sufficient unless the reviewer also gives his/her judicious and critical evaluation, before expressing his/her views on a particular subject. A good review tries to bring about a balance between all such demands."

The Vice-Chancellor also felt unhappy that the publication of books at present was confined to a few selected fields. The content and the quality of Indian publications also needed to be improved, both for the sake of meeting the demands of varied local interests and for generating a wider interest outside India in Indian scholarship. He suggested that the academic community should also engage itself more and more in the writing of good books, either individually or in 'a group form' as a joint effort. But he again emphasised that reading and writing of books etc. both should be judicious, covering a wide range of intra-disciplinary interests and not confined only to the topics, central or peripheral, to the textbook oriented prescribed courses of study.

PARTICIPANTS' CONCERN

Most participants expressed their deep concern over the decline of interest in books amongst the growing generation and a consequent fall not only in the academic levels, but in the levels of general knowledge and issues of general public concern in the wider context of various spheres of human knowledge and socio-cultural, political, economic and even scientific and artistic or practical demands of human affairs. Some speakers pointed out that though an average student today was much better informed and more curious or knowledgeable than children of their own generation had been, the present challenges or demands of the fields

of knowledge had also grown manifold. It was felt by most participants that reading habits were not being properly cultivated among children and young students, either at home or in the education system. What was worse and more serious was that when young students came to the universities, instead of developing a wider and varied general interest in the world of books, they (most of them) tended to confine themselves only to their text books, or some handy guide-books and key-books. Perhaps the fault lay with the present examination-centred and result (pass or fail)-oriented system of education. The fault also lay with members of the teaching faculties and with the library staff that they did not prompt or guide the students to spend more time in the library and also with books of a general nature.

UNUSUAL INTEREST

That the subject matter under discussion was of unusual interest and immediate concern may be adjudged from the fact that, in spite of university's many participants being in the thick of the academic session with a number of other activities pre-empting their spare time, they sat through the 3-4 hours' long discussion all along. They not only interacted with what was being said by the others, but also participated actively in the discussions, by airing their own views and experiences. As I heard some members of academic faculties say to each other, "This was perhaps one of the rare occasions in the university, when almost every one present had some thing to say, and in spite of the constraint of time, managed to put across his or her point of view at least in a capsule form."

A part of this report on the various practical proposals has been with - held for the next issue. However, the following is a select list of participants :—

Prof. R. K. Kaul, Dr. I. K. Sharma, Dr. Jasbir Jain (English Department), *Prof. Ramesh K. Arora, Dr. R. M. Khandelwal* (Department of Public Administration), *Prof. S. Loknathan* (Physics Department), *Dr. S. N. Dube, Dr. R. S. Mishra, Dr. Pratibha Jain, Arun Karki*, (History Department), *Prof. A. M. Ghose* (Department of Philosophy), *Dr. Mrs. B. Ghose, Dr. K. N. Sharma* (Department of Psychology), *Dr. S. K. Batra* (Economic Department), *Dr. R. S. Gupta, I. P. Modi, Rajiv Gupta* (Sociology Department), *Prakash Shastri* (Political Science Department), *Anand Kashyap* (Social Science Research Centre), *Dr. C. D. Sharma* (University Library).

Notable among the other participants were *D. K. Datta (IPS)* Director Anti-Corruption Deptt., *Khem Chand, Vishnudatt Sharma* and *B. Hooja* all retired civil servants (ex-members of the I.A.S.) *Rajendra Shankar Bhatt* (former Director, Public Relations) and *Babulal Pangaria* (ex-Deputy Secretary Finance) *Dr. M. S. Rathore* and *Deepak Gianchandani* of the Institute of Development Studies, and Faculty members of the H.C.M. State Institute for Public Administration and also local colleges.

A Seminar Report—

CULTURAL HERITAGE OF ABU REGION

Under the auspices of the local Ajit Foundation and sponsored by the Indian Council of Historical Research. (ICHR) New Delhi and the Indian National Trust for Arts and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) Western Rajasthan Chapter of INTACH (Johdpur) a seminar on "*The Cultural Heritage of Abu Region*" was held at Sirohi (Rajasthan) on August 18-19, 1986.

In her inaugural address, Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, (Secretary, Indira Gandhi Centre for National Arts-INCNA—New Delhi) spoke about the inter-relationship between human and natural phenomenon and of the relationship the culture of a region has with the flora and fauna of that particular area. She regretted the modern trends of 'commercial exploitation' of the living heritage of a country through 'tourism,' and was critical of the current ways of 'tribal development'. She regretted that, after independence, the tribal heritage has been vanishing, and with the tendency to some-how attract tourists we are being deprived of the soul of our culture and are content with its "corpse." only. As she put it, the best way to preserve our heritage is through an "awareness among the masses." Dr. Vatsyayan advised the local scholars to 'attach' themselves with the oral traditions of the region, and create a renewed awareness among the masses towards their own heritage.

At the outset, Dr. Sohan Lal Patni, Honorary Director of Ajit Foundation and Governor, INTACH Chapter presented an account of the activities of the Foundation. He also stressed the need for preserving the rich heritage of the region through appropriate steps so that many 'unrevealed' treasures may also be unearthed. Ashok Sampat Ram, Collector of Sirohi, while welcoming the participants, also praised the rich traditions of the region, particularly of the tribal people. He said that the tribals used to decide their disputes in their own *panchayat* (or the *lok adalat*), which concept has now been adopted by our modern civilized society. He also called on the scholars to work on the rich cultural domain of Abu region. Maharaj Kumar Ragubir Singh read a paper on the historical perspectives of the region and indicated the need to explore some 'hidden' archaeological treasures such as the Sun Temple of Verman, the Temple of Mirpur, or Chandravati and Vasantgarh etc.

M. L. Mehta, Tribal Development Commissioner, Government of Rajasthan, in his presidential address, felt sorry that various government agencies working in the field of culture have established their 'cultural feudal dominance.' He urged proper co-ordination between various agencies working in the field, including voluntary organizations. For

arranging mass awareness and encouraging "emotional attachment" of the people towards their culture, he advocated the launching of "*padyatras*" (foot marches) or '*jagarti*' (awakening) campaigns among masses.

Dr. B. Venkatraman of INTACH explained INTACH's role in preserving cultural heritage; and L. K. Sanghvi, Vice-Chairman of Foundation extended a vote of thanks.

A SET OF RESOLUTIONS

The proceedings of the first session were conducted by Dr. R.C. Agarwal, (Ex-Director of Museums and Archaeology, Rajasthan) with Prof. R. N. Mehta, Komal Kothari and Mrs. Harshad Kumari of INTACH sharing the dais. Among others, Dr. R. C. Agarwal, Prof. R. N. Mehta, Dr. Sohan Lal Patni, Mr. Vijay Shanker Shrivastava introduced various aspects of the cultural heritage of Abu Region and exchanged valuable information regarding its history, arts, architecture and sculpture and archaeology. Komal Kothari and Dr. Sohan Lal Patni spoke about "the living heritage" of the region. The second session (on 19th August) was devoted to the problems of preservation and restoration of the cultural heritage of the region.

After detailed discussions, the following resolutions were adopted :—

- For protecting monuments, a national policy should be declared by the Government of India.
- Archaeological sites (of the region) such as (a) Sun Temple of Verman, (b) Vasantgarh Fort and (c) Chandravati etc. should be included in the "conservation zone" on a priority basis.
- A study should be made of the copper belt around Vasantgarh.
- A campaign for mass awareness should be organised.
- Folk-music instruments should be preserved, and more people should be trained to use them.
- Anthropological as well as socio-cultural studies of the tribal people i. e., of the *Kalabis*, *Rebaris* and *Kolis* should be undertaken.
- The archaeological site of Chandravati must be preserved against the industrial area's expansion towards it.

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INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

—Monuments should be preserved despite growing urbanisation and industrialisation of cities.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

An exhibition of old manuscripts, coins and other materials found in the region had also been organised and was inaugurated by Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan. On this occasion, photographs of monuments and rare collections of the Sirohi School of Paintings (collection of Dr. S. L. Patni) were displayed for the first time.

Seminar participants also visited the famous Temple Street (with its old medieval feast of colour, fantasy and culture) and *Puratatva Mandir* (collection of bronze idols of Vasantgarh) in Sirohi town and the impressive Mirpur Temple. As Dr. Vatsyayan was to pronounce, "Mirpur Temple is better than the world famous Delwara Temples". She also visited the Delwara Jain Temples. *En route* to Delwara via Pindwara, she advised the local artisans working on marble to be well acquainted with the artistic trends of ancient India.

Described as a "unique performance" by Kamal Kothari, the folk dance 'BANSI GHODA' was displayed by artists of Kalandari village. Thus the seminar became the venue of a mini-cultural festival at Sirohi.

The INTACH team comprising of (Mrs.) Her-shad Kumari, (Mrs.) Nayana Kathapalia and Dr. B. Venkatraman and (Mrs.) Meera Singh (Western Rajasthan Regional Chapter), also visited some other sites viz., Vasantgarh and Sun Temple of Verman.

FUTURE PLANS

The INTACH group has identified the following projects, and formulated a Ten-Year Master Plan comprising of :—

- * An extensive cataloging of all sites and monuments in the first year, and then identifying the sites or monuments for indepth studies and illustrations.
- * A full survey documentation and photography of Vasantgarh, Chandravati, and Verman Temple,
- * Tribal Studies (on following topics) :—
 - (A) A socio-economics study of 'Kalabis' (Tribal group of this region).
 - (B) A visual illustration of a selected aspect of 'Garasiya' tribe.
- * Preservation and promotion of local crafts like (a) marble carving (b) metal casting (c) sword smelting etc. and community's ancestral ethos for the consumer market.
- * Cataloging of manuscripts collected in *Granth Bhandars* of the region.

The INTACH Team also agreed to manage the finances for a vehicle and for photography, as also help by experts and other guidance to the Ajit Foundation and Sirohi Chapter of the INTACH.

Based on a summary report of the Seminar received through Dr. S. L. Patni and his colleagues in the Ajit Foundation, Sirohi (Rajasthan)

A Fresh Bunch of Letters

(Continued from page 145 Vol. XI No. 7 July 1986 Issue)

"...I am also glad that you have taken the responsibility of the Indian Book Chronicle, which is a challenging one. Whatever co-operation I can give to your effort, I will always be happy to do so..."

T. N. Chaturvedi, Comptroller and Auditor General of India, New Delhi, (June 6th)

"...I don't really know if I can fit into such angust company, but I'll do whatever I can to help you. I have talked around in Allahabad and here to a few people and have asked them to get into touch with you directly... If there is any book you feel I can tackle, I'll be only too happy to review it..."

Mrs. Madhu Abhai Singh, ep. Col. Brown's School, Dehra Dun (U. P.) (8th June).

"...I am sending you a brochure on the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, which you may

find helpful for the purpose of writing on the institution..."

Ravindra Kumar, Director, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, (New Delhi) (June 12).

"...It is nice to learn that you would be editing Indian Book Chronicle. I am sure under your care it would be doing well..."

Mohinder Singh (IAS Retd.) ex-Secretary, Government of India Vasant Vihar, (New Delhi) (June 23).

"...It was a pleasure to hear from you. Prof. Amrik Singh had mentioned to me the other day that you have taken over the *Indian Book Chronicle*. I have not yet received the two issues of the journal which you had sent me. I look forward to reading them.

"I shall certainly speak to my publishers—now Oxford. I am sure they will be glad to know that

Ex-Patriates Seek Peace and Harmony

Notes of A Travel Diary by G. B. K. Hooja

In the U.K., the mosaic pattern of a new multi-ethnic society is slowly emerging. From all appearances, persons and communities from the Indian sub-continent now domiciled in U. K. are also in search of their new identities, while trying to retain (or regain) the roots of their heritage. I had my first experience of this at meetings of the London Arya Samaj and the Hindu Centre on the 6th July, where I met Pt. Ashu Ram Arya who has translated the *Yujurveda* into Urdu, which is a laudable accomplishment. One would like him carry on his task. Misunderstandings arise mostly from lack of our 'communal understanding' and as a result of non-acquaintance with the scriptures of other communities. Translation is an instrument which can establish bridges of thought and communication between various communities. It is incumbent on the universities, which are repositories as well as extension agencies of knowledge, to adopt this programme in a massive way in the years to come.

At the Hindu Centre, Prof. Bhardwaj delivered a lecture on *Vedas* and *Mahabharata*. He mentioned how the princes of the *Mahabharata* age had almost 'modern' standards of sex relationships—all kinds of permutations and combinations were permissible in that society.

Besides the printing press, now-a-days T. V., Radio, and the video are powerful instruments which shape and mould the breeding and psyche of the nation's youth. I was happy to note that in U. K., the church has now 'invaded' the bed-rooms of the British people through T. V. insofar as religious discourses can now be telecast and seen in their bedrooms by the lazy faithfuls who do not otherwise take the trouble of attending the church services on Sundays.

—BUNCH OF LETTERS (Contd.)—

the IBC is in safe hands. I think you have excellent ideas about establishing rapport with the younger generation.

"You are located in Jaipur, which may be an advantage in some ways, as you may have a group of colleagues who are enthusiastic and will act as a team. I wish you best of luck..."

B. R. Nanda, Panchshila Park (New Delhi) (June 23).

"The NCAER has released the publication entitled '*Study of Book Industry—Small Publishers*'... We are sending a copy of the same with the request to publish a review in your journal..."

R. N. Sharma, Asstt. Registrar (Pub.) NCAER (New Delhi) (June 25).

A week later, I was invited by the President of the Birmingham Arya Samaj, G. Chandra, who also runs a provision store and a travel agency, but is a good reader and the local high priest. The Indian Deputy High Commissioner Gupta, was a special invitee besides Dr. Prashant with his wife Saroj. Dr. Prashant spoke of the Indian labourers who had gone to Mauritius and, in due course of time, had risen to occupy high positions in the island due to their labour, devotion and steadiness. Here I also met a few other enthusiastic social workers.

On the 17th, on a visit to Manchester. I saw the *Guru Dakshina* celebration of the R. S. S. These outings and meetings with some members of the Indian community were quite interesting and instructive as I had an unusual opportunity to understand their social and cultural mores, their ambitions and apprehensions in the land of their domicile.

YOKELS BEFORE MANCHESTER LIBRARY COMPUTER

On a visit to Manchester University, we were able to see in the library the magic performance of the computer, which tabled for us a long bibliography of over 200 references on the status of Women in the Vedic Age, besides the short summary of a book on the same subject, within minutes of our curious but random enquiry. It all cost only 12 U. S. dollars. Indeed a remarkable feat of retrieval of data obtained all the way from the USA. We were told that the cost would have been much lower if we had chosen another time of the day, or if we could connect with Europe. I must confess that we looked like yokels from a village, come to town, while the data arrived. A similar exercise to collect 200 references and so on, might require the diligence and labour of quite a few scholars in India for many months, but here was ready-made data, collated and computerised, available for the asking, at a nominal cost (by western standards). Surely, the computer age has begun to increase the knowledge gap between Europe and India, and with it perhaps our dependence on the West.

DIALOGUES FOR HARMONY

During these visits, I also had the pleasure to meet Zahid Hussain, Community Relations Officer of the Derby Council for Racial Relations. A young man from Pakistan, with liberal views and a mature vision, he said that he believed in getting the dialogue going between warring groups. He showed me the latest copy of the *Asians Times* (15th August to 22nd August). It carried features on Sirajudduala and the Battle of Plassey (from a national point of view) the Ahmediya Debacle, Women's Movement and Defence in Pakistan (against the conservative and fundamental legislation of General Zia), ill-treat-

(over-leaf)

Sept.-Oct. 1986

ment of West Indians by local police, and a story on Guyana Indians. The *Asian Times* is an aggressively advanced paper and stands up for the oppressed Asians. Zahid Hussain felt that the British Government as well as the media have often tried to tarnish the image of Asians and Africans, who have no choice but to stand united in their own interests, and for the sake of their future status in U. K.

A major aspect of the work of the Derby Council for Racial Equality (DCRE) is directed to community development, promotion of mutual harmony and understanding. Zahid said that to counter-act racism which engendered tensions and fears with a negative, poisonous effect upon human society, the DCRE needed to become a campaigning body. He holds the view that U.K. is home of the local Asians and Africans, and that they must aim to create an "anti-racist" society and construct bridges to build a "caring and harmonious multi-ethnic society".

According to another analyst, Prof. Stuart Hall, the "race" problem cannot be studied in isolation from the economic, political and ideological structure within which it operates. Thus DCRE attempts to promote anti-racist awareness, equality of opportunity and development of healthy and harmonious relations between the multi-ethnic people of Derby, which is a typical British town in the heart of England, the adopted home of numerous ethnic groups trying to adjust with each other.

Besides the aforesaid Council, I happened to attend the monthly "vegetarian" lunch meeting at the Open Centre (for Education, Faith and Community) which is headed by Judith Ellis. Mark is in-charge of the 'multi-faith' work. He told me that they also worked for multi-racial peace, harmony and understanding.

At the Indian Community Centre, I also met Sardar Karamjeet Singh Badwar who had fought under Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose during the Second World War. Karamjeet Singh remembered the first of January, 1945, very vividly, as on that date, he found himself in the same trench as Netaji in Indonesia. He recalled Netaji's remarks that so long as God needed him, no bullet could harm him. As for Netaji's death, his theory was that Netaji's death was engineered, as he refused to surrender with the Japanese.

HOW DERBY CELEBRATED INDIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

On the 17th August, the Indian community in Derby celebrated the Independence Day in an Assembly Hall packed full to capacity. Behind the stage, the Indian tricolour stood flanked by a pair of Union Jacks, (a strange sight for a casual visitor like me from India). N. Chakravarti, First Secretary of the High Commission and Gural Singh Bola, Assistant High Commissioner at Birmingham were special invitees. With Laxman Singh Shanker in the

chair, the proceedings were conducted in Punjabi. Most of the speakers were nostalgic as they paid tributes to the martyrs of the freedom movement, including Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Kartar Singh Saraba and others. Without exception, they spoke of the need to preserve the solidarity and unity of India. In their attempts to look back into the pages of history, references were even made to Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, the two Anglo-Sikh wars that followed his death in 1839, and the shabby treatment meted out (by the British) to his son and heir, the ill-fated Kunwar Daleep Singh. Expatriate Indians feel emotional about such episodes which seem to tie them up with the land of their birth, home-steads and people they have left behind. References were also made to the massacre of Jalianwala Bagh and the hated crawling order in the same breath. Some speakers referred to the conspiracy of some foreign powers who viewed India's potential for growth and strength with jealousy and annoyance and supported anti-national forces.

For me this was a welcome surprise and an encouraging show of patriotism by Indian sons and daughters in homely atmosphere away from home. Invited to speak I stressed on the need for discipline, preservation of democratic principles and unity of the country and vigilance against anti-social or anti-national elements, but above all the message of the Mahatma, of mutual trust, peace and harmony, of *Satya* and *Ahimsa*.

A LETTER FROM CANADA

An extract from a letter from Dr. H. N. Gardezi, Algoma University College, 1520 Queen Street East, Sault Ste Marie Ontario. (Canada) dated Sept. 26, 1986.

"Many thanks for giving me the two issues of the Indian Book Chronicle which I have read with great interest, though intermittently, after the hectic visit of India and Jaipur. ...By way of my humble comments. ...I can say that it is a very useful project, especially in a country like India where books are expensive for the ordinary readers and take long time to reach when published abroad. More important the reviews are very thoughtful on the whole. I liked the innovation of publishing more than one review of the same book, because we all react to the same material in different ways and the readers have the opportunity to judge.

"I also like the editorials, guest essays and the message by Mulk Raj Anand, which make for diversity of material. In short, I can say that with all the limitations with which you have to cope within India, I find the Chronicle a world class journal of book reviews.

"That reminds me that I have three books awaiting to be reviewed by me. If and when I accomplish the task, I'll send you copies for your interest. In the mean-time all the best in your endeavours..."

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- ❁ प्राधिकरण की "जन सहयोग द्वारा वृक्षारोपण" योजना के अन्तर्गत अपनी कालोनी की सड़कों पर व आस-पास के खुले स्थानों पर वृक्षारोपण कर नगर के पर्यावरण सुधार में सहयोग दें।

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Indian Book Chronicle

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Winter Blooms in Delhi

With November, there is a growing nip in the air, especially in northern parts of the sub-continent. For most of us this is a fairly pleasant time, at least to start with—not very hot, nor humid, nor cold. Of course, gradually the outdoor season begins to fade as days become shorter and colder.

With the end of the rainy season and beginning with months of October and November, the harvest time is celebrated with all kinds of festivities on auspicious days like Dussehra or Diwali. In independent India, under the influence of the emerging new cultures, many new festivals or public functions have been added on to the winter season. Particularly in the heart of India, its capital, *Dilli*, the grand ceremonial season is on with a lot of flourish and gay abandon as it once used to be not long ago, in Calcutta, the then trading, industrial and banking or bureaucratic capital of British India and in other Presidency or metropolitan cities.

Come to think of it, from September-October onwards, there is a feast, rather a surfeit, of celebrations and festivals. One does not have to count them. One cannot attend or enjoy them all. Nor ignore them. (*There are some glimpses of the start of the season in an abridged Delhi Diary in this issue.*)

DELHI SEASON AND BEYOND

Perhaps for those who live and bask in the November sun-shine of New Delhi, though at the same time, they suffer various traffic hardships and public service inconveniences or deficiencies with the ever-increasing pinch of the high costs of living (in a high-rise, high-technic, sophisticated and consumeristic environment there can be no escape from such tensions) how good it is to be alive and young in spirit! The Delhi-ites alone can experience and tell others how they alternate between audio-visual and sensual pleasures of all sorts approximating heavenly bliss and the discomforts of a living hell of crowded existence.

The Parliament, the *Pragati Maidan*, and the various venues of arts and culture shows, the galleries and exhibitions, concert halls, theatres and music chambers the busy bazars and the serene *samadhis* along the Yamuna—all these bear testimony to our cultural pursuits in the Capital, and become the *rang-bhoomis* or performing theatres or venues of a

hundred and odd activities. Visitors, especially VIP's also come not singly, not in twos, but in a gay and colourful procession.

One often hears jealous or frustrated people talk cynically or sarcastically about the present age of *udghatians*, *bhashans*, *chatans* and *samapans*: Why not add *pradarshans* and protest rallies, or seminars and symposia which fill up the calendar?

As we have said earlier and elsewhere, we are increasingly becoming a community of festival makers. And when we begin to run short of ideas, we think of other new forms of fun and festivals, like the *Apna Utsav* this year, with all sorts of cultural outbursts and extravaganzas. Oh to be alive! and in New Delhi during the season!

But millions of ordinary and simple country folk in the rest of India, except for a few large cities and towns (mostly the State capitals, neighbouring colonies or rural areas) are denied of this glitter and glamour except through the *Door-darshan* screens. There are other exceptions too, when some visiting dignitaries or some over-flows of Delhi based conferences or seminars are diverted to the near by State capitals, or when some other occasions of fun and frolic are doled out to the *mofussil* citizens. For the rest of the country, especially the vast sprawling country-side, where the teeming millions abide, there is generally a big cultural void, a yawning gap of inactivity, a spread of darkness except for some scattered tiny, *diwali* lights, and a few other traditional, popular, religious celebrations or rituals confined to various communities or sects amongst themselves.

THE CULTURAL HAVES AND HAVE-NOTS

Apart from material contrasts, India is also a country divided between cultural haves and have-nots. The intelligentsia and the professional elites who guide and control the destiny of millions, whether in politics or economics, finance or industry or in business administration or academic (and now cultural) pursuits or among the select few of the growing professional or managerial class, the artists or writers have also, in the course of the past few decades, evolved their own specific cultural ethos with their own celebrations, functions, get-togethers, codes and rituals. In doing so, they have largely tried to immitate the western traits of their contemporaries or counter-parts; and in some respects, they have gone one better. Thus we have the culture of art exhibitions, theatre performances, musical soiries or *discothiques* on one hand, and countless academic or professional seminars and workshops etc. on the other, which have been added on to our old traditional or recently inherited institutions like the *mushairas*, *kavi sammelans*, *sangeet sabhas* and *natya* and *nritya pradarshans* and the spate of annual professional conferences or university convocations etc. (the last two items have also been inherited from our long association with the British in India).

(Over-leaf)

The trouble with all these endless happenings is that, most of the time, the intellectuals and professionals, writers and journalists, artistes and performers move and perform only within their own coteries or "circles" of friends and admirers in their professional groups or among small groups of friends and colleagues except when they are paying court to the powers that be.

They also seem to live in a world of their own, like cocoons. Yet when they meet or interact with each other or with other fellow beings, active and engaged in the spheres of creative or critical writing or the more glamorous activities of audio visual or plastic arts or programmes connected with saving the environment or the rapidly expanding information, knowledge, education and communication industries or with the more fashionable and currently popular games of politics of development, of people's participation or alternative strategies or the march to the 21st century they seem to become quite articulate, vocal or critical geniuses and acknowledged as pathfinders at the face value of their rhetoric speech and the flourish of their pen or brush-work. It seems that the old type of "court culture", of the days of feudal *zamindari*-colonial patrons has been replaced by a kind of competitive "coterie culture" of the post-colonial people's (capitalist) era.

CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS GALORE

While during the year, there is always a slow trickle of academic meets and professional get-togethers, with the onset of autumnal calm and the winter sunshine, there is a sudden spate or flowing flood of conferences, functions and international, or national regional seminars. On NAM or UN, SARC or Apartheid, Peace & Disarmament. On science and technology. On energy and environment. On development and people's participation. On education and health, arts and culture, and what have you? Once again, most of these activities, at least at the international inter-regional or/and national levels are concentrated in New Delhi. Only a few are allowed to spill over to some other venues, largely because New Delhi cannot cope with their extra load, or when there are dangers of more than one function happening at the same time.

With New Delhi acting as a strong and powerful magnet, is it then surprising that other centres fade or lose out in competition? Is it also surprising then that there is always an ever growing rush towards New Delhi, a sort of *Delhi Chalo Abhiyan* going on, in all parts of the country, leading to the burgeoning out of the National Capital Region and all the concomitant problems?

There is a lot of *bon-homie*, or getting to know each other, at the professional and personal plane, of exchange of views and experiences, with plenty of fun and festivity thrown in and all possible glitter or glamour. But what happens when the carefully re-

hearsed and orchestrated episodes and trumpets of sound and fury and the music of welcomes or farewells are over? Is there a real practical and useful message for the common people? A path for the people to follow? Some-thing really sound, deep and meaningful, emerging out of these get-togethers, conferences, seminars and workshops? Apart from the agenda notes and paper reports and resolutions and a lot of verbiage of good intention aired on the radio, T. V. and through the print media, what does really happen or change?

One feels that a time has come when the usefulness of such annual or seasonal functions and the seminars-symposia strategies or mechanisms of sharing knowledge and experience must be reviewed, particularly in the context of the needs as well as financial, organisational and professional constraints of the comparatively poor, less developed countries (LDC's) like India. What should concern us or matter for us most is not who among the VIP's or the high level intellectuals, scholars and professionals meets whom, where, or what they pronounce; but how does some positive result of their meetings reach the humble door-steps of the slum-dwellers or the simple working people in their farms and factories? The challenge before our intellectuals or elite circles in all their professional fields is how and to what extent do they reach out and inter-act with the common people?

What has prompted us to write these lines or giving vent to our feelings has been the disappointment and the misfortune that we could not be parts or participants of the *Apna Utsava*, except as passive spectators of the rather confused and jumbled up presentations of the changing Delhi scenes on the T. V. screens with pseudo-intellectual and informal compering dialogues. What has been worse is that in spite of our open invitation and personal approaches, to some select scholars to write about their participation in the recently held conferences or seminars including the world Sociology Congress in August, and the more recent World meet of Economists, we have not been able to have any academic participant to write a few lines by way of introduction, passing comment or critical evaluation. We are still hopeful that, sooner or later, the readers of IBC will have the benefit of sharing a bit of the left-over glory of these cultural or academic extravaganzas.

However, we cannot also refrain from suggesting that some of these conferences, seminars or workshops, if not the *utsavas* can well be dispersed (or allocated) to other university, academic or administrative centres in the country. Also some festivals and cultural events of the *Apna Utsava* or *Pragati Maidan* variety. Let the arts and cultures of the people get nearer to and reach the ordinary people in the rest of India, that is *Bharat*, but not flower and fade out only in metropolitan New Delhi.

—Editors

Vice-President R. Venkataraman—

(Inaugural Address at the Seminar organised by the Rajasthan UN Associations on Oct. 23, 1986)

PEACE DISARMAMENT & DEVELOPMENT

"The endless acceleration of the arms race... (with the induction of ever more technologically advanced and destructive nuclear weapons), poses a threat not only to international security and peace, but to the very survival of humanity. For these are not weapons of war or deterrence—they are weapons of mass destruction".

Besides, "the arms race leads to mistrust and tension between nations and at the same time puts unbearable burden on the economic resources of individual nations".

These were some thoughts put across by the Vice-President, R. Venkataraman while inaugurating a seminar on Peace and Disarmament at Jaipur on the occasion of the U. N. Day.

"The question of 'disarmament' is, therefore, not just one problem for discussion and negotiation among nations" he added. "It has assumed a compulsive priority over almost every other problem facing humanity today. This is a problem area, where contributions can be made not only by world statesmen and military strategists, but also by enlightened public opinion."

He recalled how, virtually from the day of its independence, India has been in the forefront of the struggle for peace, and has been associated with the international discussions on disarmament.

INDIAN STAND

What prompted India to join in the struggle for peace was the growing awareness that, with advance in the technology of war since the Second World War, a stage has been reached when "in nuclear warfare, there can be no victory and no defeat—there can only be world-wide slaughter and total destruction". This perception has brought India in the front ranks of "a ceaseless campaign of persuasion" in every international forum including the UN and the NAM for nuclear disarmament.

Prime Minister Nehru had proposed as early as April, 1954, a stand-still agreement for the suspension of nuclear weapon testing, pending decision on control and prohibition of nuclear weapons. He was one of the first world statesmen to make such a proposal. Again in 1960, together with four other Non-Aligned Heads of States, Nehru made an impassioned appeal to the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to discuss the nuclear issue and initiate a process of negotiations on this vital question.

In 1978, at the time of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, India proposed the conclusion of an international convention for prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons. At the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, India proposed a *freeze on production of nuclear weapons* and cut off on production of fissionable material for weapon purposes.

The Vice-President reiterated, "These ideas and proposals are still before the United Nations, and today they command support of an overwhelming majority of nations". He added that India has proposed a comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and pending the conclusion of such a ban, an *immediate suspension of all nuclear weapon tests*, because such tests not only pollute the environment through radio-active fall-out, but also speed up the nuclear arms race.

NAM & THE SIX NATIONS' APPEAL

He reminded his audience that the Non-Aligned Movement has from its very inception been squarely on the side of peace and disarmament. As the late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi said in her address to the seventh Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi, March 1983, "The Non-Aligned Movement is history's biggest peace movement."

Recounting some recent moves in this direction, the Vice-President mentioned the 1984 Six Nations' Appeal (by Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania) "for an all-embracing halt to testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, to be immediately followed by substantial reductions in nuclear forces." This was followed in January 1985 by a Disarmament Summit of the six countries in New Delhi to urge and declare that, "Two specific steps today require special attention: the prevention of arms race in outer space and a comprehensive test ban treaty." Again, in October 1985, they called for a *moratorium on testing nuclear weapons for a 12 months period* and offered their services for monitoring such a moratorium. Recognizing their special responsibility in disarmament efforts, the six leaders have appealed to the leaders of the USA and USSR for a *suspension of nuclear tests* as a first step towards a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. This appeal to super powers was reviewed at another summit of the six nations held in Mexico, appropriately on August 6, 1986, that was 41 years after the day the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

(Continue)

IN THE OUTER SPACE

"India and the six nations are also perturbed by the recent technological advances which are extending the arms race into outer space, which has been fortunately free of nuclear weapons so far, and must remain so, as the common heritage of mankind. Research is going on in the advanced or industrialised countries on space weapons based on lasers and particle beams or those capable of destroying satellites in orbit, while countries like India and other non-aligned countries (which use satellites in space for a variety of peaceful purposes) have no defence against such new weapons. Capable of destroying not only satellites in orbit but also objects on land and sea, these space weapons would become a threat to the entire world. If other nations feel threatened and take counter-measures, these would lead to an intensification of the arms race in outer space. The Non-Aligned Movement, through the Six-Nation Initiative, and in the United Nations is trying hard to prevent this."

ARMS RACE OR DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Venkataraman pointed out other serious implications of the arms race for developing countries like India...."(It means that more resources are diverted from development to defence. This further weakens the economies of the poor countries, leading to an even wider gap between the developed and the developing, between the North and the South." Explaining India's concern he said, "Faced with acute problems of poverty, illiteracy and disease which have to be overcome in a relatively short span of time, we view with particular concern the expensive new technologically advanced arms race that might spread in outer space. We in India attach great importance to the inter-relationship between disarmament and development."

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

"In addition to nuclear disarmament, India has always called for a ban on the production and use of chemical and biological weapons which are also weapons of mass destruction." India had acceded to both the Geneva Protocol of 1925 on chemical and bacteriological warfare, which bans the use of such weapons, and the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972. India would like to ensure that there is a global ban on their production and use under suitable procedure of verification.

Next, the Vice-President referred to the fundamental fallacy in the present international nuclear order concerning the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. He pointed out how some nations wished to impose obligations on non-nuclear weapons States, including their right to use nuclear technology for

peaceful purposes, "while, at the same time, retaining for themselves unfettered freedom to build up their own nuclear arsenals". He affirmed, "Our stand is very clear. *We are opposed to all proliferation of nuclear weapons by all States, whether these are nuclear weapon states or non-nuclear weapons ones.* In our view, an approach to disarmament which merely seeks to prevent a further spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear weapons states, while allowing the existing nuclear powers to increase their arsenals, is not a genuine disarmament measure. The NPT, so long as it permits vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons while preventing proliferation among other non-nuclear states, will not be acceptable to India or to other third world countries".

THE DOCTRINE OF DETERRENCE

Before concluding he also touched upon the *doctrine of deterrence* in the nuclear age and said, "The belief in the maintenance of world peace through nuclear deterrence is the most dangerous fallacy that exists. The doctrine of nuclear deterrence fuels the continuing arms race and only leads to greater insecurity and instability in international relations". Inviting attention to the Political Declaration of the Foreign Ministers of the Coordinating Bureau of the NAM held in Delhi in April, 1986 he said, "To rely on nuclear leverage is to accept a perpetual community of fear that contradicts the U. N. Charter. Belief in the maintenance of world peace through nuclear deterrence lies at the root of the continuing escalation in the quantity and quality of nuclear weapons and has, in fact, led to greater insecurity and instability in international relations than before".

THE PATH OF NEGOTIATIONS

"We welcome negotiations among the super powers on the subject of peace, security, disarmament and confidence-building." In this context, he reminded his audience of the November 1985 Summit between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, particularly the recognition by the two leaders that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought."

"While advocating the path of negotiations between the super powers for peace and security and for confidence building, he added, 'the logical conclusion from this should be a declaration by these two countries and by the other nuclear weapons States that a nuclear war would never be fought'. Further, as urged by and supported by NAM and a majority of UN members pending an agreement of drastic reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons, all States must agree on a convention banning the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

(Continued on Page 255)

A SCIENTIST POET PLEADS—

—Two Poems by M. L. Dewan

Alternatives to Growth : An Agenda for Mankind

Dr. M.L. Dewan, a soil scientist by profession has returned to India after a long stint with the FAO in Rome. His deep concern for man and human heritage is evident from the poetical sentiments expressed in following two extracts from his short publication the December 1984, THEMES OF DEVELOPMENT—II

Development and growth are words
with various meanings, shades and
angles.

Countries call themselves developed
Developing, under-developed and
even
Undeveloped.

Government agencies plan, strive or
act

For growth and development with
unclear

Targets, objectives, goals and more
often

Than not even these are unfulfilled.

Man's need for meaning, an agenda
For mankind, the need for global
planning.

Learning to live together : all are
Questions asked but hardly answered
with Meaning. . . .

.....

Man has many dimensions
Material, moral, intellectual
And above all spiritual.
Material goods to eat and live,
Clothes and comforts are
All required no doubt; but these
Are not enough to satisfy him.

Thoughts, ideas,
Consciousness can bring
Enslavement or the
Liberation of man.
Some thoughts energize people,
nations
More than the energy of the sun
While other thoughts degrade them,
bringing
Apathy, killing fun.
Action on thoughts originating
in greed, anger, hate, pride or
jealousy;
Action motivated by lust of power or
profit;
These lead to tensions, conflicts and
sorrow,
With a transient illusion of success.
Those who stand on the pyramids
Of power must take their turn

Below in crypts; all is consumed
By fire—only the eternal exists.

With his intellectual dimension Man
Has surveyed his dwelling place
From structure of proton to farthest
Observable distance of space.

A domain of mass which ranges from
The mass of the electron to that of
the universe.

A domain of time from a nuclear
event to the life of universe.
This intellect is a power that
Transforms our lives.

Above all there is the dimension of
soul,
Soul, defined as the seat of real life,
Vitality of action, the essential
Part activating all things.

The soul challenges Man and science
To define it accurately,
Is the idea of transmigration
A reality ?

Happiness is an equation
Most difficult to define.
Attempts to quantify it
Are as old as time;
Survival, health, security,
The satisfaction of material needs,
Positive thinking and
Harmony of thought and deeds,
But above all, harmony
With the inner self.

This is an agenda for mankind :
Promote self-reliance and
The universal humanist search for
The real meaning of life;
An integrated approach of Man's
Pursuit of happiness and
Development towards the ultimate.

Development and Disarmament are Linked

The basic question : Is man a violent
animal

Or a peaceful person keen to live
happily

In balanced environments with other
people ?

A question not always easy to answer.

Has history an answer ? Yes and no.
Historians have written much fact
and fiction

Of periods of war and turmoil be-
tween

Men and groups later called nations.
And less of periods between wars,
often

Much longer, when people, groups,
Leaders and kings live constructively
Peacefully, happily, contentedly.

Is there a uniform answer or
Is it like the weather ?

Do people and their environments
Vary from one part to another ?

A storm today, sunny tomorrow,
Cool today, warm tomorrow.
A combination of variable
Conditions.

So also groups of humans
Small or large react differently,
Family, clan, tribe, state or nation
Each has its own meteorology. . .

. . . So also nations close and far,
Large and small, have variable reac-
tions

Depending on factors of
Interests, values and considerations.

Thus the suspicion
Between man and man
Engenders preparedness
Because it fuels fear.

From this to arms and strife
And armaments such that
Most other aspects of life mean
nought
Is but a step. (cont. over-leaf)

A small step when the stockpile
Has swelled to now assure
The complete destruction of mankind
Not once but many times over. . .

Is it true that disarmament
And development are linked ?

The answer is clearly 'Yes'—
All evidence indicates :
Every gun that is made
Each warship launched
Or rocket fired
Signifies in a final sense
A theft, a robbery from those
Who hunger and are not fed,
From those who are cold and lack
Clothes and a roof over their heads.

Is there a way out ?
Or is mankind doomed to
Arm and prepare for wars
And ultimately destroy the human
race ?

Yes; and here are points
Made by a number of people
Who have thought on war and arma-
ments
And the madness and sorrow they
bring :

First : Aggression may be inherent
In mankind, but war which
Engages masses of people in
Battle against each other,
Is a behaviour developed and learned
In historical times
And as such can be unlearned
And ultimately eliminated entirely.

Second : The ideal of a life
Of co-existence, understanding
And cooperation has always followed
The periods of destruction and war.

Fortunately the constructive, rational
Side of the human intelligence
Has gained strength to react
As shown by recent moves.
Serious efforts have been made
Since the beginning of the United
Nations,
Particularly in the seventies, the
decade
Of disarmament, towards finding a
solution. . .

. . . Long periods of strife have ended
And others begun. Negotiations
Go on but they have tended,
Even when conducted by the United
Nations.
To leave many problems unsolved.
The building up of giant military

Establishments is irrational and the
security
They buy unreal It is the security of
The hysteric and the psychopath.

It demands a periodic testing of
strength,

A shedding of blood that mocks its
ostensible
Purpose. We live in its shadow, for-
ever aware
Of our mortality as if a sword hung
over us.

Tactical nuclear weapons are
Not needed in Europe or elsewhere
Either for deterrence or for defence
As the super-powers would have us
believe.

The common man around the globe
Must demand honest accountability
Of the policy makers and question
The rationality of the arms race and
The morality behind it.

Let people not permit
Unreason to stand unchallenged.
But let them build
The universal hope that one day we,
Through our persistent efforts to
educate
The people and the governments in
their good.
Will see these wrongs righted
And justice avenged

Another Triumphant Entry

Amitav Ghosh

THE CIRCLE OF REASON

Hamish Hamilton. Reprinted by Roli, New Delhi, (1986) Rs. 49/-

Reviewed by R. K. Kaul

Gifted young Indians in Britain
and America from time to time an-
nounce their entry into the literary
world with a triumphant first novel.
Some years ago Salman Rushdie's
first novel *Midnight's Children* was
awarded the Booker Prize. This
year Amitav Ghose and Vikram
Seth have appeared with a flourish.
While Seth's verse novel has not re-
ached us yet, *The Circle of Reason*
has arrived.

Ghose's novel is not as experi-
mental in form as Rushdie's (Prof.
Kaul has complied with our request

The new approach to peace must be
supported by

Development for peace

Education and training for peace

And most of all the craving for
peace . . .

Some basic psychological changes
Must occur, five in number,
Difficult, idealistic, but still possible:
One change leading to increasing
Love towards one another,
Another change towards increasing
Human sharing between the haves
And the have nots,
Another change towards the desire
For services to mankind,
Still another to discipline
The meaner aspects of human
character

That must be controlled and
channelled
Into community-supportive pursuits,
And a final basic change in
Understanding our responsibility
to ourselves
And to the world of humans as a
whole.

This is the beginning
Of a World Community . . .
But it will only truly begin
In a consolidation of the efforts
Towards peace, disarmament and
development

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Amitav Ghosh, born in Calcu-
tta, spent his childhood in Dhaka
and Colombo, graduated from
Delhi University and obtained a
D, Phil in Social Anthropology at
Oxford. Worked on the *Indian
Express* during the Emergency.

Travelled extensively in South
Asia the Middle East, North Africa
and Europe. Teachers at the Delhi
School of Economics.

and has given a brief (yet another)
assessment of Rushdie's first novel,

Another Triumphant Entry—(contd.)

which follows this review.—Editor) He does not play with time as Rushdie does. He falls back on a much older tradition of story-telling. A series of episodes is strung together, consisting partly of incidents and partly of argument—both equally exciting.

The only connecting link is the character of Alu who appears in a village in Bengal (Lalpur) at the beginning and reaches Medina at the end of the novel. But there is no organic development in the narrative. The reader is kept continually in suspense. For instance, about the outcome of the feud involving Shombu Debnath and Bhudeb Roy (pp. 63-86) at one stage of the narrative, and the house collapse at another stage (Chap XI) in which Alu is submerged under mountains of rubble. The reader is kept in suspense, although not very much concerned about the fate of the characters.

Some of the characters are memorable, for example, Balaram, an enthusiastic phrenologist, who professes the religion of science. He hero-worships Pasteur and wins in mortality by spraying carbolic acid on every object and place which might be infected. He runs a village school. Since this school explains the title of the book, it is worthwhile to quote the pretentious manner in which he describes the main departments of his school :

"After much careful thought Balaram had decided to name one the Department of Pure Reason and the other the Department of Practical Reason : abstract reason and concrete reason... In the Department of Pure Reason they would be taught elementary reading, writing and arithmetic, they would be given lectures in the history of science and technology... In the Department of Practical Reason, the students would be taught weaving or tailoring... (p. 107).

Balaram is apparently quite unconcerned about what Kant might have thought of this parody of his terms.

Perhaps it is the author's intention to use philosophic concepts trivially. Consider, for example, the division of the book into three parts based on the three *Gunas*, i.e., *Satwa*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* (loosely translated as Reason, Passion and Death). These descriptions do not reflect the character of the three parts. For example, in the first part, supposedly about Reason, the incidents include gang warfare, the use of explosives, the Bangladesh war, refugee camps, a plane crash and the death of Balaram, Rakhal and Maya in an accident.

One of the characters who reappears from time to time is Jyoti Das, a police officer by profession, whose real vocation is bird-watching. His pursuit of Alu provides a loose connecting thread to the later portions of the novel. He fails in his mission but gets infatuated with the courtesan Kuli in the course of rehearsals of a Tagore play in Algeria. This is the only exhibition of the 'Passion' in the novel, but it occurs in the third part called "Death."

Not that there are no deaths in part III. But the death of the characters is reported in a casual manner. They die and are soon forgotten; life goes on as before. We get the feeling that human beings are dispensable. Perhaps that is a part of the author's Hindu sensibility. Parenthetically it is worth observing that Dr. Mishra pours concentrated ridicule on Hindu rituals, especially those connected with death. That reinforces the theme of Reason.

So far as the present reviewer is aware, this is the first novel which depicts the life of expatriate Indians in the Gulf States, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh may be engaged in recriminations amongst themselves, but the emigrants from these countries are treated as one ethnic stock by the Arabs. The Arab employers look upon their informal dress as less than decent and their cooking as unhygienic. Ghosh observes strict objectivity in his presentation. He tells us what the Arabs think, without either refuting or confirming their opinions.

Ghosh has adopted the current practice of transcribing Hindi words without providing a glossary or even italicizing them. For example, 'dal-moth' and 'khichri' appear without any warning to the reader about their exotic character. Indian readers may not find any difficulty with such words ; but Arabic words such as 'tarha' and 'jallab-yyas' were unintelligible to the reviewer.

It is another matter when the author transliterates Indian expressions into English like 'wet cat'. The British Resident is called Goat's Arse 'because whenever he spoke he made his lips into a circle of such perfection that every one who saw him held their breath waiting for a black wonderfully rounded goat's turd to fall out.' (p. 249). There is a comic inventiveness in Amitav Ghosh's use of the language, bordering on coarseness. When the Malik fires bazookas in pursuit of the slippery Jeevanbhai, the "early morning crowd half-dressed and unwashed, underwashed and unshat, turned as one man and fled down the road with Nury in the lead" (p. 260).

This scene is reminiscent of a passage in Chaucer (vide *The Nun's Priest's Tale*). Altogether the comparison with the comic tales of Chaucer would be quite apposite (though the structural incoherence is more like Rabelais). Zindi is the Wife of Bath in a modern outfit. She offends against all canons of propriety. Physically she is formidable. Her head and hands seem incongruously small besides the immense rolling bulk of her body. Her face was scorched unevenly, her cheeks hung down in heavy muscular jowls. Her hips are massive and her great quivering breasts rested on her stomach (p. 172). Her spoken language is coarse and she is virtually illiterate. She practically rapes Alu. She runs a bawdy house. And yet she is so sympathetically drawn that by the end of the novel, the reader remembers her as the most likeable character in the novel.

We welcome the arrival of another fine craftsman in the art of fiction.

Nov.-Dec. 1986

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

A Sealed Chutney Bottle

Saloman Rushdie

MIDNIGHT'S CHILDREN

Picador, Pan Books, London (1981), (Booker Prize 1981).

A Short Comment by R. K. Kaul

It is an allegorical history of free India from 1947 to 1978. The political events of 31 years run parallel to the fictitious characters and events.

This novel is in the tradition of *Tristram Shandy* (1760) by Laurence Sterne. On page 74, the narrator is still hanging around in the background of his own story. It takes him another 42 pages to be born.

There is an all pervading, free for all mockery in Rushdie's manner. Nothing is too sacred or too solemn to be spared. "On April 6, 1919," he tells us, "the holy city of Amritsar smelled (gloriously, Padma, celestially !) of excrement. And perhaps the (beauteous) reek did not offend the nose on my grand-father's face." (p. 32).

Rushdie has grasped the hybrid character of contemporary India, the tolerant acceptance of every thing exotic and its gradual Indianization to the point of making it unrecognizable. Consider for example, the character named Picture Singh, who is familiarly called Pictureji. Our admiration for quackery and mumbo jumbo is illustrated by the fact that Pictureji is a magician, a serpent charmer, a muscle man, and a popu-

lar leader of the colony. He is also an active communist.

Rushdie plays on the double meanings of words 'sometimes trivially (e.g. *buddha* is the enlightened one' and 'an old man') and occasionally with great wit. For example, Parvati makes chutneys. She pickles fruit and vegetables to preserve them. The author pickles the past. The book itself is a sealed chutney bottle. The flavour of chutney is a very apt description of the book which parodies oriental rhetoric on one page (e.g. rumpers of bitterness and the starch of jealousy) and pokes fun at Sam Maneckshaw and Tiger Niazi (of Bangladesh fame) on another.

Prof. R. K. Kaul has been a live wire guide, almost a father figure, with the English Department at the Rajasthan University Jaipur. With special interests in the works of Johnson and Henry James, his interest in Indo-English literature (according to him) is unprofessional like a lay-man's love of the exciting scene of current writing by Indians in English. In his keenness to help us, he offered to do this review (though the I.B.C. has not yet been favoured with a review copies of by the publishers.)

The Story of Rama Retold

Introduction and Translation by Robert P. Goldman; Annotation by Robert P. Goldman and Sally J. Sutherland

THE RAMAYANA OF VALMIKI : Oxford University Press pages 429

Reviewed by Shyama Bhatia

A very large number of commentaries on the *Ramayana* have appeared in recent years, both in Europe and India, by eminent Sanskrit scholars and historians. The book, especially its introductory commentary, under review is a rich addition to

the existing literature on the subject. It is exceptional in its own way excelling many earlier writings which attracted deep attention. It stands out as a stimulating work, intensely provocative of thought, (especially with regard to the age of Ramayana

and allied issues). It may serve as a path-finder to the new generation of readers of India's history, as well as give them new ideas to link the old and the new. It is penetrative, fresh and knowledgeable. As an original contribution, it will remain fascinating.

This work of assessing the text is not affected by the difficulties of the authors, which they have confronted with courage and devotion. It is the result of a long and ambitious Project entrusted to a group of very learned men—the Ramayana Translation Consortium—well-equipped for their own individual task. They are all experts in the area of Sanskrit Epic studies. Their coordinator and guide is Robert P. Slatman, known for his excellence—a Sanskrit scholar and translator. There is genuineness on their part, exhibiting "careful and copious scholarship." The style, diction and lexicon of the Poem have not been marred by the traditional history. The impact is lasting to a great extent. The profuse detail and the cultural data do not overwhelm the story. The translation has not been allowed to create unnecessary digression. There is no misplaced enthusiasm to be negative or to make inroads into the scholar-lines of the Indian writers. The authors do not hang on to the European commentaries, but give a new lead in presenting the story.

The translation is unique, adhering to the textual analysis as far as possible. The bewildering varieties of meanings have been avoided. In general "the major thrust of the annotation is to aid in the reading and comprehension of the translation. General, cultural, geographical and botanical matters have been ignored except those where a particular item bears on our understanding of the relevant passage or some direct bearing on a textual question." There is, of course, "an occasional departure from the practice of elucidating only the text." (p. 114)

THE PROJECT

The need of a new English translation of *Balakanda* of the *Ramayana*

(Continued)

THE RAMAYANA OF VALMIKI (Continued)

of *Valmiki* was felt by the author-translator Robert P. Goldman, after the critical edition of the Poem had been completed by scholars associated with the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in 1975. Since the task was gigantic, he decided to work with "a small and dedicated group of scholars expert in the area of Sanskrit epic studies." Each scholar was assigned one book (out of the seven books) and was made responsible for the accuracy of its translation and annotation. The Consortium decided about the format, conventions and style at their meetings, so that the stylistic consistency and general quality did not vary from book to book. The author worked closely with the translators as an editorial consultant. Though "not a Sanskritist, he has to be chosen on the basis of recognised expertise in the area of literary criticism and reputation as an author." Such was the plan of the Ramayana Translation Consortium.

Some seven years later, Goldman could say that he was satisfied with the success of the plan, "despite many problems of logistics and communication." Indologists who were skeptical in the beginning and alarmed at the formation of "translation committee" according to them, changed their view, and became enthusiastic about the work.

The group of scholars who undertook the translation consisted of *Rosalind Lefebvre* of the University of Toronto, *Bimal K. Motilal* of Oxford University, *Jeffrey Moniaeff-Masson*, then at the University of Toronto, *Barend A. van Nooten* of the University of California, Berkeley and the author. *Leonard E. Nathan*, "distinguished professor of Rhetoric at Berkeley and well-known poet" served as editorial consultant. Later on, *Professors Miller, Masson, and Matilal* withdrew from active participation due to the demands of other areas of their work, but their contribution was "enormous to the fundamental decisions on style, format, conventions, annotation and countless other details". Two additional Sanskrit scholars—*Sheldon I Pollock* of the University of Iowa

and *Sally J. Sutherland* of the University of California, Berkeley, however, joined the Consortium which had "advice, assistance and support" available to it from "many other individuals and institutions".

The National Endowment for the Humanities provided "the most generous consistent and vital support for the project" under its translation project grants programme. The American Institute of Indian Studies conferred its senior fellowship on the author to enable him to carry out the preliminary stages of research and translation in India during 1974-75. The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation gave its support too. The present work is the result of the assistance received from different sources, and the great scholarly contribution the author translator has made himself.

The authors have taken up, for translation, the *Balakanda* for their first volume. Though "like Rama it is considerably more complex than most of the scholars have hitherto led us to believe" (p. 81), yet the translators have successfully accomplished their task. The readers will wait for the subsequent volumes of the Ramayana studies, each planned as a companion volume to the present translation. In the preparation of this translation ten Sanskrit commentaries were examined. It is hoped that more such commentaries would be gone through before embarking upon the new project.

This volume has dealt with the various *sargas* in the *Balakanda* and has made their language highly understandable in their interpretation. There is no "over-interpretation or falsification of the text" (page 110). The commentators are not "special pleaders". They are "scholars, connoisseurs of poetry". They have no "concern with theology" as such, but explain the beauty of the Poem in a simple way. The extensive annotation has not spoiled it. The original language is not totally withdrawn. There is close reading of the text, but the translation is not mechanically done. The translation is well-guided in the re-arrangement. Some liberties have been taken with

the text for "the sake of intelligibility", but not to introduce conceptions which do not fit in. Sometimes difficulties are faced by a western translator to capture both the oriental idiom and the deep meaning of such epics in non-western language, but here the translator has done his task exceedingly well while producing the volume. "It the music has been lost and with it something of the magic which the Poem held for its original audience and their heirs, we think we have kept the grand outline of the conception and the large verbal gestures that create a sense of the idealized world of the poet and his characters. To this degree, we have kept faith with the original. It must remain for our readers to decide whether or not we have given them a living *Ramayana* in their own tongue." (p. 95).

However, when going through the translation of *Balakanda* volume, we breathe unrestrained of the "great and ancient Sanskrit Epic Poem—(the *Valmiki Ramayana*)" which has dominated the cultures of India and South-East Asia for centuries. The translation is masterful and well-researched, both in approach and interpretation. There is the pervasive appeal of the story and its principal characters. It unfolds the oldest surviving version of the Rama story. Valmiki had produced a masterpiece out of "the terse narrative provided to him by Sage Narada. He recast it in a new metrical form and inspired by God Brahma, expanded the story." He taught the Poem to two disciples well-versed in the *Veda*. Later on, many generations of people in India had the inspiration, which even today keeps alive the hopes of our elders and the youth in an uncertain climate of conflicts and self-assertion.

Shyama Bhatia did her post-graduation in Sanskrit from the Punjab University, Lahore, in the 1940's. Besides a short teaching stint she has retained a life-long interest in classical literature even as "an ordinary housewife". She lives in Chandigarh.

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INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

The Changing Countryside

Jan Breman

OF PEASANTS, MIGRANTS AND PAUPERS

Oxford University Press, (1985) p.p. 472, Rs. 195/-

Reviewed by Harsh Sethi

Notwithstanding the regular release of data regarding agricultural production and productivity, the view which is still widely held is that of stagnation as the crux of the agrarian problem in India. That most of India lives in the villages; that agriculture is still traditional and rain dependent; that farming forms the dominant basis of rural production; and that the villagers—illiterate and ignorant as they are—still continue to live their lives as their forefathers did; such views dominate the perception of both the officialdom and their critics. The massive infusion of 'learned articles' on struggles, protests and movements in the Indian countryside during the seventies, or the equally learned but somewhat less illuminating debate on 'the mode of production in Indian agricultural' in the pages of the *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Frontier*, *Mainstream* and *Social Scientist*—somehow have not managed to break the strangle-hold of this popular image.

IN OUT—LINE

Well, for those who get 'tired' and confused by the fineries of the different interpretations of *Capital Vol. III*, we now have a book—detailed, historical, analytical and readable—that takes up all the stereotypes, and subjects them to rigorous examination.

Breman's book, product of a two decade long involvement with the countryside of South Gujarat—the Bardoli region (made famous by Sardar Patel led *satyagraha* in the late '20s) is, in my view, essential reading for all those with an interest in the Indian countryside. From his first book, '*Patronage and Exploitation*' published in the mid-seventies, to his regular contributions on the 'informal sector', in particular his

path-breaking article '*On the Cruising of Cane and of Labour* (1978)', Breman has produced one of the most systematic accounts of the 'nature and direction' of change in our rural areas. The study of Bardoli is not only a regional study; but, as he himself says, it 'represents a more general trend manifested in various parts of India, and for which one can predict an acceleration in the near future'. The study, thus should be of interest to all.

The book is divided into four parts. The first out-lines the historical and socio-economic background. The second explores anthropologically the worlds of the dominant landowners, the landless proletariat and the tribals. The third brings in the factors of labour mobility—both in and out-migration resulting in, and as a consequence of, the diversification of the rural economy. And finally the fourth part which examines the transition from caste to class, the nature of the agrarian conflicts and the role of the state.

SOME PHASES OF CHANGE

While the book is too rich to permit any non-caricatured attempt at a summary, there is a general argument (of both fact or history and method) which runs through the book and needs presentation. The archetype of an unchanging rural order (a picture that Breman does not buy) started changing in Bardoli from the early decades of this century with the introduction of cotton farming in the region. This brought in its wake a greater involvement of the market, leading to the first signs of 'disturbance' which formed the social basis to the '*satyagraha*', in the '20s.

The real change, however, came with the advent of canal irrigation

and rural electrification in the '50s which marked a sharp break in the old and new agrarian cycles.

Techno-institutional changes led to the displacement of Anavil Brahmins by the *Patidars* as the dominant social group at one level, and the displacement of cotton by sugarcane at the other. In all of this, not unlike what happened all over north India, the condition of the *Halpatis* (land-less) and often 'attached' farm servants worsened from a 'patronage and exploitation' dispensation earlier to a 'mere exploitation' now. As the surpluses in the hands of the *Patidars* grew, they moved from direct involvement in farming to more of a supervisory role and further into many non-farm operations including urban occupations.

The plethora of state schemes—from institutional reforms (ceilings, tenancy, and minimum wages etc. in the '50s) to the direct beneficiary oriented production and welfare schemes of the seventies—were all resisted and manipulated by the dominant social groups so that the labouring sections remained pauperised. The more recent arrival of seasonal migrants (particularly during the cane-harvesting and crushing season) has only exacerbated the conflicts between the 'locals' and the 'outsiders', permitting greater leeway for the rural rich to consolidate their hold.

If the above presentation suggests of a simple linear movement of accumulation or prosperity and pauperisation at two ends as a matter of fact, of the process, then the fault lies with the summary. Because, this three-decade complex weave has really involved the subjective and organisational interplay of many actors differentiated by caste, class and organisational affiliation.

BREMAN'S METHODOLOGY AND THESIS

Methodologically, Breman favours a historical-anthropological frame combining resources, technology and people, rather than the simplistic mode of production-forces of production framework employed by the earlier generation of

(Continued)

analysts. Equally significant is his emphasis on the smaller details—important not only in a scholastic sense, but because it is only through an analysis of the micro-corporaries of the exercise and resistance of power, that we can possibly build up an adequate picture which permits sensitive intervention.

In addition to the contribution to the general approach of writing agrarian history, Breman has made a few points which are important even within a policy oriented discourse. The first relates to the *caste-class debate*. While Breman clearly highlights the importance of class as a category, he is not inclined to an interpretation of a simple 'caste to class transition'. Nor does he see the 'reality of caste' only as a 'persistent and continuing vestige' or anti-diluvian tradition. His analysis helps us understand the virulence with which the *Patidar* of Bardoli reacted to the reservation question in Gujarat. Readers may not be aware that rural Bardoli saw some of the more horrifying pogroms against the Harijans and backward sections in the 1981 and 1984 agitations.

A second important point relates to *migration theory* wherein Breman argues that migration takes place particularly at the lower spectrum of the economic scale, more as a 'survival' strategy, rather than as an 'active search' by free wage labour for higher returns. The migrants in the sugar regions of Bardoli are variants of attached labourers, severely exploited, in increasing conflict with local *Halpatis* (who see them as black-legs) and go back at the end of the season with less than Rs. 100-150/- each. Not quite the picture of how Bihar and East U.P. labour has bought up land in their traditional habitat from 'saving's accumulated through work as migrant landless labour in Punjab.

Similarly as third point, Breman provides another nail in the well-known Lipton *thesis of urban bias*. Because, to call the *Patidars* only rural is to completely miss out on their increasing non-farm and non-rural interests for surplus generation.

GAINERS ARE ANTI-GOVERNMENT

One section of the book which makes fascinating reading, relates to the question as to why do the *Kanbi Patidars*, who have obviously gained much from the processes of the last three decades, view the government with such hostility. This is the social class which supported the anti-emergency stirrings in Gujarat, it is politically more inclined towards the Janata than the Congress etc. Partly, their attitude of hostility is to do with the appropriation of the image of an 'anti-colonial' struggle (Incidentally Breman's brief, but incisive comments on the Bardoli *saiyagraha* are likely to embarrass the votaries of both Gandhi and Patel no end). Partly it is an anti-statism born out of a desire to be left alone to practice their hegemonic control without interference.

Interestingly, this local dynamics has pushed the landless classes more towards the government, which is seen as a 'helpful mediator'.

For any student of practical politics, these perceptions are vital. In any case, the state intervention can be summed up in three words:—*supervision, discipline and intimidation*. The emphasis is on 'order and peace', with the state apparatus of law and order, formal protestations notwithstanding, clearly coming down more heavily on the landless than on the *Patidars* for any perceived flouting of law.

NOT STAGNANT BUT A TROUBLED FUTURE ?

All these smaller details mesh into a picture of a country-side that can hardly be called stagnant. Other than the areas of Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, the cradle of *Indian Green Revolution*, South Gujarat too comes across as a vigorous and diversifying area or process of change. That this process of agrarian capitalism encapsulates, sometimes even consolidates, some forms of social organisation which appear pre-capitalist should not lead us into the mistaken formulations of semi-feudalism so favoured by one section of the left. After all, even the U. S. A. built up

its economy on slave and indentured labour.

None of this is to argue that all classes gain, and equally, from this process. The effect on the labouring sections is as differentiated as on the better-off property-owning strata. There has been both an expansion of employment opportunities, as also its contraction. Particularly badly hit have been the *Halpatis* who, at one level, are facing competition from migrants, and at another level, are facing pressures as a result of changes in agrarian technology. Because what the *Patidars* want now, with the emergence of incipient class consciousness and organisation amongst the local labour, is a skilled and loyal work force. The militant, unskilled landless labour has currently few takers.

What is interesting is that these diverse sources of pressure on the *Halpatis* have not made them despondent and docile. Breman's prognosis for the future is a troubled and a disturbed one, with the *Halpatis* taking an active role in challenging the current socio-economic dispensation. Incidentally, this last section is the one place where Breman's book disappoints, because he provides no details on the resistance and struggle process by the *Halpatis*. I, for one, am not a great believer in spontaneity.

I would like to end this brief review response with a feeling of 'dis-may'—not about the book—but that one has again and again to turn to 'expatriate scholarship' for such detailed and incisive analysis. On Gujarat, one has to refer more to a Breman, a Hardiman, or a Charlesworth (and the referencing at the end of the book is adequate testimony to their pains and efforts than our own intelligenstia. Let us only hope that this book might 'shame' some of us to better home work.

Now on sabbathical leave. Harsh Sethi was until recently working with the Indian Council of Social Sciences Research. His manifold youthful interests have also brought about his close association with the New Delhi Centre for the Study of Developing Societies.

JINNAH'S DISCOVERY OF PAKISTAN

Two Further Comments

(In the August issue of IBC, Vol. XI No. 8, we published a review of Ayesha Jalal's much talked about book "THE SOLE SPOKESMAN." by Ashghar Ali Engineer. We have received two more comments of that book which are produced below. —Editors)

A Reluctant Pakistani ?

Reviewed by Satinder Singh

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the father of Pakistan, has been the most misunderstood politician of the Indian sub-continent. For most Indians, he is a villain who persuaded the British rulers to dismember this sub-continent. For most Muslims, on the other hand, he is a saviour who helped them escape Hindu bondage. Both these extreme views have clouded some pertinent facts about Jinnah's political career.

JINNAH ALIENATED

Before the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian political scene in the early 1920s, Jinnah was one of the most prominent Congress leaders. He was an ardent liberal democrat, a confirmed secularist and an astute parliamentarian. He regarded Gopal Krishan Gokhale as his *Guru*. Sarojini Naidu once described Jinnah as the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. He got alienated from the Congress when Mahatma Gandhi introduced Hindi *bhasha* and Hindu rituals and practices in its programmes and policies.

When in mid-twenties, Jinnah left the Congress to head the Muslim League, he did not give up hope or effort to forge a united front between the two communities against the alien rulers, on the basis of equality. He took up the Muslim cause exclusively only after his demand for separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency and the N. W. F. P. from the Punjab was rejected out of hand by the Motilal Committee on constitutional reforms.

Three of the committee members Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Lala Lajpat Rai, said in a joint statement later that rather than concede Jinnah's demand, it would be much better to agree to the formation of sovereign Muslim states on the country's western and eastern borders. Jinnah's demand for a weighted representation for the Muslim community in the local bodies, provincial assemblies and the Central Legislature was also rejected by the Committee whose members were wedded to the universally accepted democratic concept of "One man, one vote".

The foxy alien rulers understandably exploited the sharp differences between the Congress leaders and Jinnah's Muslim League. They formulated a scheme which gave Jinnah a little more than he had been demanding for the Muslims in representative bodies and services, thereby further accentuating communal differences.

A MAD MAN'S DREAM ?

After being rebuffed by the Congress but getting a seductive bait from the British, Jinnah's sole obsession was somehow to save his co-religionists from Hindu overlordship. But he did not turn a separatist. In fact, when Chaudhary Rahmat Ali presented his booklet, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation* to Jinnah during his sojourn in London in connection with the Second Round Table Conference, Jinnah bluntly told the young author that this was a "mad man's dream".

But history has its ways of taking revenge. Nine years later, in 1940 at Jinnah's behest the Muslim League unanimously adopted a resolution demanding division of the sub-continent into two sovereign States of "Hindu" India and "Muslim" Pakistan.

The last nail into the coffin of "united India" had been hammered by none other than Jawaharlal Nehru three years earlier. Under his prodding, the Congress, which had swept the polls in several provinces in the 1937 general elections, refused to treat the Muslim League as an equal. It insisted that the Muslim Leaguers who had fought the election, especially in U.P., after entering into an electoral understanding with the Congress, should dissolve their party and join its ranks unconditionally. The alternative offered to them was to remain out in the cold.

It is generally believed by most students of contemporary history of the sub-continent that this demand for a pound of flesh so infuriated Jinnah that henceforth he would not compromise on anything less than the formation of "an independent Muslim State," even if it was to be "mutilated and moth-eaten".

Ayesha Jalal, however, clearly establishes through her painstaking research, that not only the Quaid-e-Azam was a "reluctant Pakistani" until the actual division of the sub-continent in the middle of August 1947; but the Muslims of Bengal, Punjab and N.W.F.P. also grudgingly voted for an independent Muslim State.

JINNAH AND THE CABINET MISSION PLAN

Jinnah, for instance, was prepared to give a trial to the Cabinet
(Continued)

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Mission plan, which preserved an unitary India with a loose three-tier federation, in which the Muslim majority areas would have complete control over all their affairs except those specifically vested in the centre. Residuary powers also were to vest in the provinces.

That Jinnah plumped for the Cabinet Mission Plan is understandable. At the Centre, he would meet the Hindus on a level where provinces would count, irrespective of the size of their respective population. This ensured, however vaguely, the *principle of equality* between the Hindus and the Muslims which Jinnah had been fighting for all along. As a pragmatist, Jinnah knew that equality at an all-India centre outweighed the advantages that would accrue from a sovereign but truncated Pakistan. But, by then it was too late. The Congress leaders had finally made up their mind to get rid (!) of the unreasonable and obstinate Jinnah and his followers at any cost.

In retrospect, one may say, the Congress leadership in its obsession to cut Quaid-e-Azam to size, lost the golden opportunity to preserve the integrity of the country and to save millions of innocent citizens from the traumatic experience of the partition holocaust.

One may also venture to opine that if the Cabinet Mission Plan had been accepted, the current Centre-State relations, which are bedevilling the politics of both India and Pakistan, now, would not have been so full of pulls and tensions. But these are only 'ifs' of history. and provide no more than a pastime to inquisitive minds always at odds with themselves and the world.

In sum Ayesha Jalal's book is well-researched, refreshingly original and eminently readable. This reviewer cannot help suggesting it to her to do a companion volume to bring to public attention the compulsions—social, psychological or economic—which suddenly converted most of the senior Congress leaders from ardent supporters of a united India to co-perpetrators of its division in less than two years.

Satindra Singh is a journalist of long experience who was until recently connected with the Delhi office of the Tribune (Chandigarh).

II

A Myopic View

Reviewed by Moin Shakir

In the year of the Congress centenary, an account of the role of the most enigmatic leader of the pre-1947 years and the architect of Pakistan—Mohammed Ali Jinnah—must be welcomed. One cannot explain the dynamics of communal madness without referring to Jinnah's strategy of achieving the goal of a Muslim "homeland." Dr. Ayesha Jalal's book is an addition to the literature on Muslim separatism and elite Muslim politics between 1940 and 1947.

The central problem of the book is to grasp the creation of Pakistan which "fitted the interests of most Muslims so poorly." It is also claimed that the work is a "significant advance towards understanding the transfer of power in India".

A WEAK POLITICAL BASE

Dr. Jalal chooses to focus her attention on the consistently vague demand of Pakistan in the context of prevailing political realities in the provinces where Muslims happened to be in a majority.

The 1937 elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, clearly indicated that Jinnah and his Muslim League did not have any hold in the Muslim majority provinces. The Muslim League as a political party hardly existed. Its resources in terms of men and money were woefully meagre.

Provincial politics after 1920 was characterised by regional particularism, local political traditions, opportunism and feuds and factions which were present in every community Electoral politics reinforced them. The Muslims were in a majority but they could never rule without the support of other communities.

Consequently there had emerged what are called supra-communal alliances, particularly in Punjab and Bengal. Mian Fazli Husain's Unionist Party, C. R. Das's Swaraj Party or Fazlul Haq's Proja Krishak Party are examples in point. It is interesting to note that in the Muslim provinces, with the exception of the NWFP, neither the Muslim League nor the Indian National Congress had every been very strong in terms of politics and electoral successes.

POLITICS OF DYARCHY

Muslim provincial politics was not Jinnah's cup of tea.

He belonged to a province where the Muslims were in a minority. Even in that province, his arena of political activity was Bombay. The demographic composition, cultural eclecticism, the rise of native merchant princes, the slow but steady growth of a western Indian capitalist class and its alliance with professionals made Bombay qualitatively different from Calcutta, Madras, Allahabad and Lahore.

Jinnah's political outlook was shaped by the prevailing realities of Bombay. He was a liberal and centrist and secular, but in all these respects, he was different from Sir Syed Ahmed and Ameer Ali.

Not only Jinnah but the liberal and extremist politicians, up to 1920, did possess an all-India outlook and pan-Indian orientation.

Dyarchy was a great setback to that tradition. It provincialised and regionalised politics. It is interesting to note that the Muslim leaders with no local or regional base attempted to develop all-India aspirations, while strong regional leaders preferred to concentrate on their own provinces.

Before Jinnah, Maulana Mohammed Ali who belonged to a Muslim minority province successfully emerged as a professional all-India leader of the Muslim community. It was he who turned the tables against the Congress leaders on the issue of the Nehru Committee report. In fact, the report did protect the inte-

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rests of the Muslim-majority provinces. Jinnah's shrewdness and Mohammed Ali's communal mobilisation ruined the prospects of resolving the communal deadlock.

JINNAH'S PROBLEM & ROLE

One should not make a virtue out of Jinnah's pan-Indian concern and the importance he assigned to the centre. In fact, he had a vested interest in them. He had no option. His problem was simple: he did not want to play second fiddle to any of the Muslim leaders or Congress politics. He could play the role of an all-India leader in his own right. But when difficulties arose, he knew how to overcome them. He could bid goodbye to all his liberal values and secular commitments, as he did during 1940-47.

The Pakistan demand was essentially a non-regional demand. Jinnah deliberately kept it *vague* as his concern was to mobilise all Muslims belonging to majority and minority provinces. Jinnah could also undermine the authority of regional Muslim leaders by raising the issue of the *entire* Muslim community. Jinnah succeeded to a great extent in emerging as an "authentic" leader of the Muslim community and in achieving the goal of Pakistan much against the wishes of the regional leaders, who wanted united Punjab, united Bengal, Azad Sindh and Pakhtunistan.

A MISLEADING ACCOUNT

Dr. Jalal provides a competent account of the developments in the Muslim-majority provinces during 1937-1947. She has consulted British papers, private papers of the prominent Muslim leaders and Muslim League documents. Her style is superb and presentation charmingly lucid. Her scholarship is quite impressive. Yet, in spite of all the rich material at her disposal, she has produced an unsatisfying, if not thoroughly misleading, account of the most complex period of Indian history.

A MYOPIC VIEW OF DISCOVERY OF PAKISTAN

The limitations of her approach are obvious. She looks at the political developments from Jinnah's angle of vision and the Muslim League's perspective. This colours all her judgments. A couple of examples: her assessment of Gandhi is totally wrong. She does not analyse Gandhi's role during 1917-1920 in making the Indian national movement really national, but agrees with Jinnah's opinion about Gandhi's programme that it would lead to complete disorganisation and chaos. In the same way, she talks of Gandhi's unimportance in Indian politics in the mid-forties. This might have been Jinnah's view, but the facts do not bear it out.

Her description of the role of the British bureaucracy is native. She agrees with Jinnah, who believed that the commodity called Pakistan was available only in the British market. Her predilection is to characterise the British bureaucracy as an umpire and, therefore, neutral. She projects it as fair and honest, playing the game according to the rules of the game. Therefore, concepts like imperialism or colonialism are irrelevant for her. (By the way, imperialism or colonialism are not mentioned except once in the book.)

She does speak of the "failures" of the Congress and the British in exposing the fundamental contradiction in the demand of Pakistan. But "failure" is not a proper word to describe the inadequacies of the Congress and British policies. Does "failure" mean that the Congress and the British were not aware of the other options and of the art of possibilities? They were aware of the options; they preferred one. Let that be analysed and assessed. Dr. Jalal perhaps wants to make Jinnah the hero and the Congress the villain of the piece. This is bad historiography?

WHY PAKISTAN DEMAND IN 1940?

The moot question which must be asked is why the demand for

Pakistan was made by Jinnah and his Muslim League only in 1940. Why was it not made in the late twenties and the thirties? Dr. Jalal does not ask this question.

The growing strength of the Congress, particularly during 1937-1939; the presence of the militant *Kisan Sabha*; the trade union movement; and students' organisations added some new dimensions to national politics. These elements exercised an effective anti-imperialist pressure, to the chagrin of the British Government.

The outbreak of war and the consequent Congress postures left the British bureaucracy out in the cold. It had no option but to play the Jinnah card. It encouraged communalism and communal forces unprecedentedly in colonial history.

JINNAH'S STRATEGY

Jinnah exploited the situation. He "blackmailed" the British; embarrassed the Congress by making all kinds of illogical demands; eroded the authority of strong regional leaders; and overcame the limitations of his elitist orientation by involving different segments, progressive as well as reactionary, of the Muslim community in the Pakistan movement. All this did not clash with the British imperialistic interests.

What happened after the war? The moment the British felt that Jinnah's strategy would be in conflict with its strategic and economic interests in South Asia, he was rendered helpless and powerless. One instance is Lord Mountbatten's warning in June 1947, that playing for time for the partition of Punjab and Bengal would mean "chaos...and you will lose Pakistan probably for good." Jinnah simply shrugged his shoulders and said "What must be, must be."

Against this, compare Dr. Jalal's assessment of Jinnah: "Jinnah's greatest strength was his unwillingness to go away, his capacity to stick to his guns, scraping whatever power he had in the bottom of his

(contd.)

barrels with the coolness of his barrels with the coolness of a warrior confidently fighting a righteous war."

A MYOPIC VIEW

Dr. Jalal's vision of pre-1947 Indian politics is myopic. For her, it is the game played by the "notables." What is analysed is their unprincipled opportunism, strong continuity of local tradition, kinship network, struggle between ins and outs, scramble for power and quiddities of local circumstance. Then there are "snakes" and "ladders" in the careers of these "notables."

Such a view will give the impression that there was no anti-imperialist struggle, no movement for the emancipation of the downtrodden, no rebels, no iconoclasts, no working class movements and no RIN mutiny and no "people" *per se*.

WHO CREATED PAKISTAN ?

Dr. Jalal's consistent argument is that for Jinnah, Pakistan was a bargaining counter. He did not want it, at least in the form in which it was created in 1947.

She does not agree with the view that the British created it. Then who was the creator of Pakistan ? The Congress ? Was the divide between the Hindus and Muslims so vast and unmanageable ? Her own material leads to the contrary conclusion.

She, of course does, not bother to collect information in different fields where the unity of the communities was demonstrated. Take the RIN (mutiny in the navy). Take thousands of strikes between 1945 and 1947. Take the *kisan sabhas* where the communal question was never raised. Such revolutionary unity was disapproved of by the top brass

of the Congress and the Muslim League.

The difficulty with Dr. Jalal is that she does not take her argument based on facts to their logical end. Could there be Pakistan without the British presence ? She evades vital questions, conceals many realities by adopting wrong categories of analysis and betrays a bias in favour of imperialist strategy in social sciences.

Dr. Moin Shakir is Professor in the Political Science & Public Administration Department of the Marathwada University, Aurangabad (Maharashtra). The review is being reproduced from the Sunday Deccan Herald, Bangalore of June 22, 1986 with the permission of the Editor.

VICE-PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS :

Continued from Page 244

PEACE DISARMAMENT & DEVELOPMENT

Concluding, he repeated the truism that the arms race has always led to wars and that weapons have not deterred wars in the past human history. "After every war, the defeated is disarmed, but the winner accumulates more arms and weapons setting the pace for others to follow.

"It is not as if the world leaders are not aware of the grave dangers of a nuclear war."

WORLD PUBLIC OPINION FOR PEACE

Quoting the words of the Soviet delegate in the Political Committee of the U. N. that "Nuclear war would jeopardise the very survival of mankind. The nuclear sword once drawn cannot be sheathed", and also President Reagan's statement that : "The U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. have the capacity to destroy civilisation as we know it" he protested that despite these rhetorical statements, arms piling has been going on and on, and the threat to humanity is looming larger.

"The only conceivable check to the arms race is the enlightened public opinion in each country and its pressure on State policies. It is in this context that the Delhi Declaration and the Six-Nations'

initiative assume importance. The earnest plea for disarmament has found the warmest echo in all developing and saner developed countries. These have yet to make a dent on the Nuclear Power States even though the people of those States are beginning to realise the danger and are raising their feeble voices against the nuclear arms race." With these words, He called on the people to foster and strengthen the peace movement.

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Nov.-Dec. 1986

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Responses to Economic and Arms Aid

Sushila Agarwal

SUPER POWERS AND THE THIRD WORLD

Aalekh Publishers, Jaipur (1985) Pp. 151, Price Rs. 75/-.

Reviewed by Pramod K. Mishra

The super powers, while pursuing their national objectives, have often used different strategies to directly or indirectly influence the socio-economic and political conditions of the developing countries in different continents of the world. As most of these Third World countries are economically backward with several infrastructural and institutional handicaps, it is but natural that these countries are often dependent for economic aid on the affluent powers of the world, which include the two super powers.

Besides, as has been widely noticed during the last four decades since the end of World War II, major tensions and armed conflicts are in the Third World regions. In order to fight these suicidal wars, the developing nations have been compelled to squander their valuable natural resources in order to acquire sophisticated weapons and enhance their defence capability *vis-a-vis* their belligerent neighbours. Often it has been found from official records that the two super powers are the two major arms suppliers of the Third World nations. In fact, ironically enough, the major arms industries in either the USA or the USSR thrive as a result of the continuous supply of arms and ammunitions to these nations in need. There is no hesitation to pass on the obsolete technology in the process of their arms build-up.

With such a broad scenario in mind, one can try to identify some of the major highlights in the monograph of Sushila Agarwal. As she very clearly stipulates in her preface, it is basically a study of "aid response" of the receiving country (like India) specially in terms of maintenance of its autonomy in foreign

policy in the atmosphere of super power competitive domination all over the world. Also it takes into account how an effective and self-sustaining political system can provide autonomy in aid relations.

DEFINITIONS

Without passing any judgement on her above-mentioned hypothesis at this stage let us see how she tries to operationalize her model. In her introductory chapter, she has tried to find some operational definitions of the Super Powers and the Third World. She also explains some of the basic concepts like foreign aid, aid-response, development, autonomy, self-reliance etc. To pick up some of her interesting analogies, she believes that although the US and USSR are broadly accepted as *super* powers, the term has eluded a more stable and sophisticated definition. She seems to accept Holsti's concept of the Third World, who believes that "economic growth and technological progress are among the main national objectives of developing countries, not only because they are necessary to sustain increasing population, but also because they are symbols of modernity and nationhood".

In her view, foreign aid has two major dimensions; *first* it is the competition between the super powers to influence the process of political and economic development of the developing countries in order to strengthen their security and expand their economy. *Second*, the developed countries have been interested in expansion of their economies (p. 3). Her concept of 'aid response' basically deals with the objective conditions and subjective motiva-

tions of the aid-receivers. She seems to believe that the aid receiving countries can exhibit a great deal of autonomy provided they utilize it for development i.e. for removal of conditions of under-development.

However, the present reviewer feels that this is a rather too simplistic an explanation of a complex phenomenon. Often it has been found that the aid-givers, while giving any major concessional aid, often attach some hidden strings of terms or conditions so as to allow, indeed ensure, a perpetual dependence by the aid-receivers. Besides, their zeal to put overt and covert political influence *in lieu* of aid, often defeats the very purpose of development and autonomy. It is also not completely true when she argues that although a major aid-receiver, India has "always exhibited a remarkable continuity and autonomy in its foreign policy" (p 5).

In her chapter on foreign aid, Agarwal makes a critical review of the liberal and marxist literature in the field. As the liberal approach suggests, the cause of under-development is *internal stagnation* on account of inefficiency, and the cure is outside help from developed states. The categories of aid, according to this school, include 1) foreign aid, 2) foreign investment and 3) technical assistance. To the marxists, on the other hand, foreign aid, investment and technical assistance are nothing but *mechanisms to extract wealth* of the developing nations. The author seems to agree with the marxists' analysis that the economies of the developing countries have evolved as *sub-systems of global capitalism* and become *economic satellites* as a result of conquest and/or economic penetration by the foreign interests (p. 14). She has also diagnosed the basic differences in the objectives and strategies of the American and Soviet aid-programmes.

In her chapter about recipients needs and donors' terms, Agarwal tries to operationalize with the Indian experience in receiving foreign aid and how it fits into the overall concept of the country's planned economy, self-reliance and relative autonomy in the politico-security spheres. Several useful tables on the various categories of foreign aid

to India and the extents of debt servicing are definitely useful for further research in the field.

In the chapter on US aid to India, while the broad parameters of Washington's aid strategies are analyzed, the evolving tensions have also been taken into account. In her view, the Americans have mainly responded (or reacted) to the nature and quantum of Soviet aid to India. While she analyzes the two distinct phases in Indo-US Aid relations, she has left out the state of affairs in the last decade. This period is rather crucial because of the fact that, on the one hand, there is a drastic cut in the quantum of US "official" aid, and on the other, there is a significant increase in the "non-official" aid.

In the chapter on Soviet aid to India, she talks of the *mutuality of interests*, which has, by and large, resulted in a continuous increase. She also analyzes three other Soviet objectives behind its aid programmes to India. These are as follows ; a) aid as a cold war strategy, b) China as a factor of Indo-Soviet relations and c) Ideological factor. On the whole, she ends with a happy note that Soviet aid, being stable and consistent, has helped considerably India's development strategy and the path towards gradual self-reliance.

As regards India's aid response, the author takes into account the *critical options* for New Delhi in view of its principled stand on a New World Economic Order based on equity and justice, and the non-aligned strategy on development and security. She is quite convinced that India does not stand vulnerable as a result of her dependence on foreign aid. On the other hand, on certain occasions, she has exercised considerable leverage *vis-à-vis* the two super power.

That is because, as the author correctly highlights in her concluding chapter, among the developing countries, India enjoys considerable *political stability* and has proved her *capacity of optimum use* of

foreign aid without becoming a defaulter in debt servicing. Besides, as an emerging global power, India enjoys considerable prestige in the world at large. This aspect neither of the two super powers can afford to ignore.

The author has done a commendable work by highlighting a crucial area of international politics.

Dr. Pramod K. Mishra is Professor, in the Department of International Relations, Netaji Institute for Asian Studies, Calcutta.

Grass Root Views

Ramashray Roy and R. K. Srivastava

DIALOGUES ON DEVELOPMENT : The Individual, Society and Political Order

Sage Publications, New Delhi (1986) pp. 245 Price Rs. 140/-

Comment by B. H.

With a captivating and eye-catching title, this is a compilation of dialogues at the grass root-level.

Perhaps it suggests that some sages like Plato or Socrates or Kautilya, nearer home, or scholars of the modern breed have found time to ponder over and pontificate on some important and burning problems of the moment and enunciate new points of view or guidelines for the benefit of individuals and society in general. Here inside these covers, one may expect to find philosophic comments on the inter-relationship of the individual and society or the political order, under which men and women live and function.

Views and comments there are ; but not of scholars and sages, the wise and learned men of yesterday or to-day. The book projects what the average common man (and woman) perceives of the endless changes taking place in the rural settings in this age of progress through the process of modernisation, for which the motive force or impetus has been provided largely by government-sponsored programmes.

RUSTIC PHILOSOPHERS

Twenty village folk in about half a dozen villages of Manhar Block

in Vaishali district of Bihar (admittedly a backward pocket of a backward or under-developed State in India) are the participants and spokesmen of this eye-opening series of dialogues. These are the rustic philosophers, commentators and critics of modern India. As the two co-authors have averred, these are the views or perceptions from "the backwaters", of the weak and the poor, for whom their every-day life is a "problem" or "a state of perplexity" and even "a distress". Through Roy and Srivastava, they, simple folk have presented their grass-root and rustic views of the modern times and institutions, and about the inter-play of socio-economic and political forces ; and how most of them (the target group or recipients) happen to be left out of the game of benefits and welfare amenities.

Nearly all the dialogue-participants belong to the backward or scheduled castes etc. sections of rural society. And for most of them, the much lauded or publicised, glittering and ebullient caravan of development seems to have just passed by, without touching their lives in a positive or fruitful manner, except in some marginal or peripheral way. If at all, their old and tradition social "world" is breaking up and collapsing before their eyes, without

anything worth-while or lasting taking its place. They are helpless and unfortunate witnesses of the disruption, disorder and collapse of the social or the value system as much as they are idle and helpless spectators of the changes being brought about.

However, many other parallel or simultaneous and contemporary developments in the rural or the national settings which have been influencing their minds, their perceptions or views of society at large or of the state, as well as their own expectations or future ambitions. Their individual accounts make a sad reading, full as these are of the life-stories and tales of hardship and struggle.

Soon, the professional interviewers or analysts (of the New Delhi-based Centre for the Study of Development Societies) take over to interpret these routine experiences at the ground level with their own academic awareness and knowledge of the social forces at work or the social institutions. They attempt to give a new and deeper meaning to what the twenty odd rustic philosophers have felt or said; and on that basis, they seek to build and present an alternative model or delineation of the on-going development process.

INTERPRETATIONS BUT NO CLEAR RECOMMENDATIONS

In each of the five parts of the book, the dialogues have been predicated with suitable introductions and interpretations to set out the theme and its focus, and to project in a selective and systematic way views or outlooks of the common folk on the needs of development, the role of the government, the society in transition, and even their concepts of human happiness. (These are the captions of the various parts or chapters of the book)

Thus, through these portraits of poverty and misery and denial, these dialogues of practical wisdom and a deep-rooted faith, rural Bihar comes to life through these pages in all its complexity or perplexity.

(Some of the personal stories take one's mind back to the era of rural struggles during the age of Gandhi, and his tribe, or the portraits of persons immortalised by writers of the stature of Prem Chand. During his days at Champaran, Gandhi had the patience to record thousands of such dialogues perhaps the first-ever systematic effort social enquiry).

This, however, is an academic and well-guided search for the perceptions of the common people living and working at the grass root level in the era of development. As presented in an intellectual framework of enquiry by the two authors, each person speaks and sounds like a man of wisdom, a social philosopher even. Don't they say, "Scratch the surface and every Indian is a philosopher"?

But, somehow the dialogues do not lead to a clear or well-defined programme of remedial action out of or against the engulfing mesh of the varied mechanisms and institutions of "modernisation" at the behest or initiative of the state, with many old and traditional social or moral values being thrown overboard.

How does one modernise oneself or society in general, or a system without losing individual identity or happiness or without straining the

social fabric or the political order? Where does one start with? With the individual? Or the family group? Or the society? Or the state? Can development or modernisation come mainly or primarily from the grass root, if it does not (cannot) reach and trickle down from high above? The debate or dialogue, if you like, must go on till we find some meeting ground in between the top echelons and the lower depths.

Secondly, it is worth considering whether and to what extent the limited universe of twenty odd working people in far-out places, the backwaters, can be expected to have a wider and 'universal' appeal or meaning in a vast and diversely constituted sub-continental and plural society? This is not to whittle down the relevance or use of such enquiries along with their sequel of well co-ordinated and articulated logical arguments in favour of an alternative approach. May one suggest that, having unveiled the face and probed the mind of rural Bihar at the micro level, the resourceful Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi and its investigators or social activists like Roy and Srivasatava or their successors should launch an experiment or long-term action programme in that location to act upon their findings and recommendations.

Under the Shadows of Delhi

Kishan Datt Sharma

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE METROPOLITAN SHADOW :

A Case Study from Haryana

Inter-India Publications, New Delhi (1985) pp. 200, 52 figures, 44 tables, index, 46 photographs, Price Rs. 350/-, \$ 70/-,

Reviewed by M. Hasan

A dominant characteristic of 'Indian geography' is that it respects, uncritically and instinctively, existing patterns and formulae of "successes". A few examples apart,

the themes and analytical approaches in research are, by and large, uniform and routine. What underlies these trends is professional convenience rather than unorthodox

convictions. Researchers or writers avoid ploughing fresh or lone furrows due to imagined fears of unacceptability in the traditional market. That is why, despite a long history of the profession, we do not have our own *geographic idiom* capturing cultural ethos, regional priorities and perceptions. Between land, use and typical 'urban' studies has grown a vast corpus of literature creating visual blight and professional embarrassment. Our choice, at least in social and urban geography remains limited to two monocultures of the Gangetic plain defying distance-decay functions from the sources of 'innovations'. As a consequence, we are confronted with, if you wish, an intellectual atrophy. The trend, as a result, has reduced geographic intellect into an isotropic space, differentiated only by well-trodden methodological haxagones, limited thresholds of vision and curtailed range of ideas. How should one react to the current ethos of the "publish and perish" sort, taken to its sheer commercial conclusion for professional membership and mobility?

The work in hand for review is a departure from the present trends, albeit not substantively.

The title of the book *Development in the Metropolitan Shadow* is impressive. Its metaphor raises some hopes. Because, urban development 'in the shadow of a metropolis' suggests a certain type and degree of association between a large and a smaller city. The reader may assume that 'the metropolis' is casting a detrimental 'shadow' on the growth of a 'neighbouring smaller city'. The assumption leads to the logical identification of factors such as intervening opportunities, distance-decay functions and clustering processes in a larger place due to economies of scale, displacement of resources and so on. I am alluding to the syndrome usually associated with plant growth under a banyan tree. The text in this case, is independent of the content suggested by the title. We expect some sort of descriptive comparisons, if not in-depth analysis, of variables causing inequality of growth of the two ci-

ties. The title proves to be a more geographic hyperbole. Therefore, the hopes raised from the title remain under shadow!

In a sense, the title is misleading. Because, at least, after the formation of the National Capital Region Board (1982) various neighbouring cities and towns of Delhi are experiencing a boom in many sectors. This ought to be true also in the case of Haryana which has an administratively orchestrated access to a large share of resources from the NCR Board. Ideally, the pace of urban growth in Rohtak should have been compared, first, with all urban centres of Haryana. Then, urban development in Haryana should have been equated with that of Delhi. Finally, urban development in Rohtak and Delhi should have been compared and accounted for a validity of the metaphor. Such an approach would have been organic spatially. This would have been useful to the NCR Board and the other States surrounding the national capital. Images and fears apart, it was the onus of the geographer to measure the shadow of Delhi over Rohtak.

To some extent, the book does not suffer from cosmetic methodological ingredients overshadowing substance. All formulas and methods have been assigned the status of footnotes! Hence, the readability and flow of the theme are its main attributes.

The book is divided into seven chapters. The chapters forming the backbone of the book deal with locational setting, population characteristics, townscape of Rohtak, land-use patterns, umland and spatial structure of central places. Organizationally, the book is cohesive with each chapter adhering to a firm format. The reader is (helpfully) told in advance about the sources of data and methodologies used. The author has heavily depended upon cartographic devices to describe geographic phenomena.

In the introduction, the author presents a profile of Haryana State in an embryonic form, background of the city of Rohtak, four questions

emanating from the history of the city and its relationships with Delhi as a powerful urban neighbour. After three short paragraphs on the importance of urban geography, their data and the methods of analysis are described. One of the four questions that the author raises is: 'What is the influence of the proximity of the large metropolis of Delhi on the economic and social functioning of the city and its morphological and functional development?' According to the author, the proximity of Rohtak with Delhi, the resettling of displaced persons and other allied factors "must have considerably affected the morphology and functions" of the city (p. 1). A careful reading of the introduction establishes that the author remains open-ended in his strategy and does not state hypotheses that he specifically wants to test.

Since a study of major urban settlements of Haryana does not exist, we are told, the challenge made the author to write his thesis. He admits that in terms of methods and contents, the book is "broadly similar" to other urban studies on single Indian towns. It is different, he says, because of the inclusion of *mohalla* as "the basic unit" for mapping some non-demographic variables and study of umland as revealed by spatial organization of its central places (p. 2). The author maintains, more as an article of faith than on the basis of scrutiny of evidences, that western ecological models are not applicable to Indian urban centres. Shall we then believe that the concepts of umland, CBD and central places applied by him to the study have been 'baptised' to Indian conditions?

The author describes various population characteristics of the city such as its general distribution, temporal growth (only between 1881-1971), spatial patterns of population density, its migration, sex ratios, literacy rates, occupational categories and the distribution of scheduled caste population.

The chapter on 'townscape' is essentially morphological in its content and approach. Townscape is

heuristic in nature, in which forms and images coalesce imperceptibly. The author has ably presented as objectively as possible the structural elements of the city over time. But they are bare bones to indicate the shape, size and direction etc. of the urban growth. A structure without flesh (in this case, the city people, its culture, main events and political economy) is like a skeleton of dry bones without marrow.

Haryana, Rohtak, the community of Jats, city's proximity with Delhi, its post-partition prosperity and even the Chief Ministers of the State are powerful variables evoking real images of the space and the various actors. All these are conspicuously missing from this well-written geographic work. Using location quotient for population distribution by annulets, the author confirms routine distance-decay functions from centre of the city. However, internal variations are evident from distributional maps. One wishes that the author had tried to explain them. Imbued with refined Indian planning perceptions and processes, the author bemoans the desire of low-income people for extra income, which led them to rent out parts of their residential facilities to others: "These areas were initially planned by the government as low income-group single-family dwellings. The size of the houses was deliberately kept small to check [or choke?] population density. However, the allurements for some extra income... has cut at the roots of the planning objectives". (p. 26) A Herbert Gans would question the Indian planners for their lack of understanding of folk perceptions, priorities and pragmatism *vis-a-vis* housing and residential density. As a senior HUDCO executive maintains, a better planning and growth of Indian cities must seek harmony between social and structural engineering. Obsessions with cost and design underlie some of our avoidable urban blights.

Given the author's good literary style, the existence of readable maps would have been an asset. Some figures (e.g., 5.13-5.16) suffer from cartographic blemishes. Lack of standard formats, incomplete indexes,

use of "mile" as a measurement unit, lack of harmony between information and cartographic methods are some visible impairments. Patterns tend to overshadow facts, thus causing a strain. But such maps are fewer.

The book contains a long bibliography, although not reflecting the text. The bibliography is dated like most dissertations. The latest reference is of 1976. At places, the bibliography does not tally with references (see for example, pp 180, 192-194). Initials of R. L. Singh are incorrect (p. 180).

Some chapters are also endowed with rich references and footnotes. However, a large part of these foot-

notes could have been integrated into the main text.

For reading the book, an Indian buyer must dish out Rs. 1.75 per page! Nevertheless, the book is worth reading and should be an asset to any library. The strength of the book is readability of its prose and a flawless flow of theme. For this, the author deserves a pat on the back.

Dr. M. Hasan is now Professor of Area Planning at the HCM Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration, Jaipur.

(Note—No copy of the book was received by the IBC).

A Classic Translated & Some Critical Responses

Krishna Srinivas

TAMIL VEDAS : NAMMALWAR III—*Poets' Press, India*

R. K. Singh (Ed.)

SOUND AND SILENCE : Some Critical Responses to the Poetry of Krishna Srinivas—*Poets' Press, India.*

Reviewed by P. S. Sundaram

I can describe Krishna Srinivas only as a phenomenon. Unfortunately phenomena like him are becoming less and less rare. Dr. I.K. Sharma, who is described by Dr. R. K. Singh, editor of *Sound and Silence*, as a "renowned Indian English poet and critic"—if you did not know him, so much the worse for you!—justifies his claim to be better known than he actually is by a piece of critical writing more sober and sensible than most of the thirty-two pieces of "critical response to the poetry of Krishna Srinivas" which constitute *Sound and Silence*.

This book has been priced \$ 10. Since the *Tamil Vedas* has been priced Rs. 10, and *Sound and Silence* issuing from the same press in Madras and presumably meant for rea-

ders in India as well as abroad does not have its price marked in rupees, it is not improbable that \$ is only a misprint for Rs. On the other hand, since Krishna Srinivas's poetry commands a world audience, the \$ might be quite deliberate. Since Srinivas's poetry is above all "mystical", and the essence of mysticism is that it should mystify, the pricing may well be of a piece with the rest of Krishna's enterprises.

ON THE CREDIT SIDE

Dr. Sharma begins his critical response with a few indisputable facts.

"Viewed dispassionately, Krishna has done memorable service

to the cause of poetry in general. He has brought out more than three hundred issues of *Poet*, the international monthly he edits, spread over a period of twenty-seven years, unfailingly regular and each issue in advance. A record in itself."

Srinivas is also a great organiser having held more than one international Poets' Meet in Madras, the latest of which in December 1986 was inaugurated by no less than the Vice-President of India.

The two volumes under review, though they have their share of misprints which presumably no book or journal produced in our country can escape—and this is true increasingly of even English and American publications—are well-produced and do not have the cheap look of the international *Poet*. All this is on the credit side.

But when Dr. Sharma goes on to separate the sheep from the goats, "Persons who wish to rise through him praise him unthinkingly and those who cannot stand his phenomenal rise, world-wide connections, editorial acumen, organising ability, hate him unblinkingly",

his pronouncement is at best a half-truth. The unthinking praise is—I wish to be charitable—perhaps motivated, perhaps no more than the incapacity to think. As for hating him, I am not at all sure that anyone who reads Krishna Srinivas and his critics will be sufficiently worked up to do that. The wiser among them will be amused; those who care for values distressed.

UNJUSTIFIED LIBERTIES

The objection to Krishna Srinivas's poetry is not the result of an impatience with anything that claims to be mystical, or of a contempt for traditional non-"modernist" verse. Some mystical poetry may seem to mystify, but that does not mean that anything which mystifies is to be defended as mystical. When you read a stanza of Vaughan who belonged to the 17th century, or of

Francis Thompson who belonged to the late 19th, you can see at once from the fervour of the writing that this is poetry coming from depths of actual experience and translating itself into not merely memorable but unique words. No such thing can be said of any of the verses doled out by Krishna Srinivas. As to the diction, it is good to remember what T. S. Eliot said, viz. "To have the virtues of good prose is the first and minimum requirement of good poetry."

Just because Gerard Manley Hopkins took liberties with the language, you and I writing in English are not justified in discarding English idiom and imagining that what was good enough for Shakespeare in the 16th century is good enough for us in the 20th.

World

As Ramanuja proclaims
Is not just the world we perceive
But a world veined with God.
His Glories flooding earth,
His Mercy lightning galaxies,
His Truth goldening minds
To reach realms unseen
And unconceived
And even blessed.

"A world veined with God", says Charles Cline, one of the critics, "is a stroke of genius". It is certainly a good and arresting phrase. But "His Truth goldening minds", so far from "skillfully melding the concrete with the abstract" in just childish writing. And what is the justification for writing "World" instead of "The World"? What is "lightning galaxies"? And why "even blessed"?

To ask these questions is not to be a pedantic school-master, but to bring to the study and understanding of poetry a certain minimum commonsense in the absence of which we should not pretend to be critics.

THE CHALLENGE OF TRANSLATING A CLASSIC

As for Krishna Srinivas's translation of *Nammalvar*, I would merely put side by side the renderings

respectively, by him and by A. K. Ramanujan, of the *Tiruvaimozhi* VI I (1) :

Monarchs who reigned
Vasty sways
When destiny frowned
Tumble to dust
And go abegging
To keep their hunger away :
And when alms seek
In depths of dark,
Dogs claim their flesh
In furied dash
And they go
Fated throw :
Tarry awhile and think
The tragedy you sink
And pray to God
To be your guard.

* * * * *
Kings
who rule the earth all alone
for long years
will one day hobble
on legs bitten by black dogs
and beg from a broken pot
here
in this very life
with the whole world watching :
don't tarry then
think of the lord's feet
and live. (Ramanujan)

I give my own version for what it may be worth :

Autocrats who ruled the world
May beg for food with broken pots
Legs baited by black dogs.
Such is their fate in this wide
world.
Seek betimes the feet of the Lord
And save your soul !

Ramanujan's "hobbling" is a fine piece of transcreation—a much-abused word taken recourse to by every poetastor-translator. My version is an attempt to vindicate my belief that the traditional English metres and way of writing poetry have not outlived their usefulness, and can be successfully used to render Tamil or Sanskrit poetry into English. Ramanujan's "think" renders the Tamil word literally, but his "live" is not the best rendering of the Tamil *uimin* which means not

(Continued overleaf)

only "live" in certain contexts but also "obtain heavenly bliss" in others. I use "seek" and "save your soul" so as to bring out clearly the contrast in the poem between running after the things of the earth and laying up treasures in heaven.

If our great classics are to be put across to the western world, it is not ungrammatical English and doggerels which can carry and deliver the goods. And if we claim that everyone who indulges in obscurity and vain repetition is a mystic and his words are *mantras*, the damage we

shall be doing to our culture will be incalculable.

Prof. P. S. Sundaram retired from the Rajasthan University in 1974 after a rich and varied academic career at Lahore, Calcutta, Balasore, Bareilly and Jaipur spanning 4 decades. Author of two books, one on R. K. Narayan (Arnold Heineman) and an English translation of poet Bharati's Poems (Vikas) he has now settled down at Madras, where he had completed his college studies more than 55 years ago.

Studies on Communalism—

Part II

(In continuation of the report on the six weeks course on Research Methodology organised last summer by the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID) Chandigarh. Part I of the report appeared in Vol XI Nos. 9 & 10, September–October 1986 issue of this journal at pages 230–233 —Editors)

Report by Pramod Kumar & Rashpal Malhotra

THE BASIS OF COMMUNAL POLITICS

Politics turns communal if political groups and parties mobilize the people by creating and contributing to the creation of a perception that : (i) ascriptive groups have *separate* or *antagonistic* social and economic interest; and that (ii) these interests can only be safeguarded or achieved by ascriptive groups organizing themselves in the political sphere along religious, caste or other ascriptive lines.

The communal political groups first project *individual gains* of persons belonging to another religious or caste group to be those of *the whole of that community*.

Secondly, they exaggerate the gains so projected of the other community.

Thirdly, they present these gains to be *the loss of their own religious or caste group*.

Interestingly, rival communalists look on individual gains as having benefitted the whole 'community' and a circular battle ensues between communalists. For example, if a politician who happens to be a Muslim gets elected to the Parliament, communalists will project this as a gain for all the Muslims and as a loss of other religious groups. And the parliamentarian will be considered merely a leader of the Muslims. Further, if the Vice-Chancellorship of a University goes to an individual who happens to be a Hindu, the communalists project it to be a gain of all 'Hindus' and as a loss to other religious groups.

Recent events in contemporary history have shown how dangerous this approach is. Sikh communalists

have bullied innocent members of the Hindu religious groups for disowning their *Punjabi* language ; and Hindu communalists have harassed innocent believers of Sikhism outside Punjab; and such communalists have repeatedly propagated that Hindi was the language of the Hindus and Punjabi of the Sikhs. The pro-Hindi sections have viewed the demand for linguistic demarcation of Punjab by Sikh communalists as an attempt to create a 'theocratic state'. Some of the Sikh communalists have also owned this. And this in turn, has hardened communal attitudes and transformed demagoguery into a grave crisis. The net outcome of this confrontation has been a flaring-up between the communalist groups at the cost of several innocent lives.

Similarly, the vociferous agitation for 'a minority character' for the Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) has sharpened communal cleavages. The accrual of minority status was projected as a benefit to all 'Muslims', and to deprive all 'Hindus' of an opportunity for higher education. This issue has rocked Aligarh several times with intense rioting. Communal propaganda on this issue was fuelled by the emerging middle classes of Aligarh, from both Hindu and Muslim religious groups. The implication of such an understanding will be to pose one communalism against another. Such propaganda is used by some of the political parties to cash upon in electoral politics.

The pervasiveness of communalism in society leads to situations where the cost of secular mobilizations is very high and softer options are chosen by most of the political parties in the elections.

It was pointed out that in 1950's also, even a secular leadership which dominated the Congress party chose 'Muslim-majority' constituencies for a nationalist like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, viz. Rampur and Gurgaon. Conceptual errors in combating communalism may have resulted in such decisions during that period.

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—STUDIES ON COMMUNALISM—(Continued)

However, in recent times, the use of communal symbols and slogans for mobilizing people, choice of candidates on communal considerations and alliances with communalists has become a lucrative practice among non-communal and secular parties. The following striking example of the use of communal symbols and slogans was cited:—The Congress in December, 1984, projected Anandpur Sahib Resolution as secessionist and the Akali Dal as 'anti-national'; but arrived at an understanding with Akali Dal after the 8th General Elections, but before the elections to Punjab Legislative Assembly in August, 1985.

LEFT BLUNDERS

It was pointed out that even the 'left' political parties have blundered conceptually and compromised electorally with communalists. Before Independence, the 'left' considered communalism to be an ideology of feudal sections, in which case it was wrongly seen as a pre-capitalists ideology which was hoped would evaporate with the growth of capitalism. Secondly, the 'left' believed that *minority* communalism is natural, whereas *majority* communalism is communalism, in which case it was wrongly propagated that minority communalism should be appeased without realizing that communalism of one group feeds that of another. Thirdly, the 'left' did not maintain its separate identity, nor give alternative policies. After the split in CPI in 1964, and during the coalition government days of 1967-69, the 'left' became a partner of state governments along with patently communal political parties. Despite these pitfalls in conception and practice, it was observed that the left political parties were the only political and ideological forces which could lead the struggle for secularism.

COMMUNAL PARTIES

Communal organizations like *Jamait-e-Islami* and *Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh* (R.S.S.) were also

discussed. The speakers felt that these organizations are dangerously sectarian and chauvinist. While *Jamait-e-Islami* treats all Muslims, other than Sunnis, with contempt, the R.S.S. mobilizes only a section of people who accept divine ordination of 'Hindus as the custodians of world peace and harmony'. Secondly, these organizations are anti-democratic. While *Jamait-e-Islami* believes in the sovereignty of God, the R.S.S. considers the cult of a leader to be supreme, whereby both do not believe in the sovereignty of the people. *They stand for communal*, (consciousness) in its aggravated form though communal consciousness existed with less intensity in the ideology and programme of other organizations also.

AKALIS

With regard to the *Akali Dal*, it was pointed out that this political party was an off-shoot of the Akali Movement of 1920's. But the Akali Movement was a religious reform movement to end corruption in places of worship. The Akali Dal, on the other hand, was a *political party* which became communal by propagating concern for 'Sikhism in danger' or for 'common Sikh culture'. Secondly, it was pointed out that the slogan '*panth* in danger' or particular 'demands of Sikhs' were overshadowed by economic demands in the successive election manifestoes of the Akali Dal between 1962-80. The period also witnessed rapid agricultural growth in Punjab and hence was a period of relative social calm. However, since 1980, with the emergence of multiple social crises and deterioration in polity, the *Akali Dal* began raising the slogan '*panth* in danger' or particular 'Sikh interests'. This reflects that *Akali Dal* is desirous of seeking a communal solution to social, economic and political problems of people.

It was pointed out that national political parties like Congress, Janata Party, Lok Dal and Bhartiya Janta Party have been using communalism in an *opportunistic* fashion, whe-

reas the left political parties have compromised with communalism due to a conceptual mis-understanding.

Examples of communal alliances are numerous. The important among these alliances to fight elections or to form governments are as follows:

ALLIANCES

In *Bhiwandi*, there is an understanding among political operators to alternately elect members from two different religious groups to head the municipality. Despite such an understanding, communal rioting continues to take place in *Bhiwandi*, and in fact has become more intense over the years. Indeed, this approach has added to the existing fears, suspicions and hatred, leading to the unprecedented brutality, massacres and burning of human beings during the communal riots of 1984 in *Bhiwandi*.

To cite another example, in *Punjab*, four Akali-Jan Sangh coalitions were founded on the communal arithmetic—is that the Akalis represent 'Sikh interests' and Jan Sangh represents 'Hindu interests'. The coalitions were marriages of expedient circumstances for the leadership, while their ranks, which were the victims of communal ideology, held each other in deep suspicion and mistrust.

Therefore, it would be wrong to conclude that when two opposing communalists join hands, they can counter extremist sections of the communalists. No doubt, it is possible to contain such elements, for a short while, but such a path or proposition would be dangerous from the point of view of fighting communalism and disintegrative tendencies, as it simultaneously allows communalists to spread communal ideology and lionize communal politics.

CONCESSIONS

Concessions were sought by communalists and granted by political parties in power. In this context, a

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STUDIES ON COMMUNALISM—(contd.)

number of examples were cited by the speakers, as follows :

During the Janta period(1977-79) communalists demanded that a NC-ERT text books on Indian History written by Professor(s) R. S. Sharma Romilla Thapar and Bipan Chandra should be proscribed, because they make derogatory remarks against 'Hindus' or are sympathetic to 'Muslims'. As result of this demand, one text book, viz. R. S. Sharma's *Ancient Indian History* was withdrawn in a hush-hush manner.

Similarly, the religious demands raised by Akali Dal were conceded by the Congress in 1984 through an announcement made by the contemporary Prime Minister in Gurdwara Bangla Sahab, New Delhi.

Another such concession was made in May, 1986 to appease communalists when the Muslim Personal Law 1986 was moved by the Congress and passed by the Parliament.

The impact of such concessions to communalists is that the communal leaders are 'legitimized' as leaders of their respective religious groups and the secularists are isolated.

EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES, MEDIA AND COMMUNALISM

Speakers were of the view that the content of education and media (both print and audio-visual, is imbued with elements of communalism. They pointed out the rapidly communal or sturdy secular media had a relatively less appeal, but the media which fed the existing amorphous consciousness of people was more widespread. For example, the scientific and secular journals, newspapers and books have a circulation of just a few thousands in a country with a population of around 70 crores, out of whom more than one third were listed as literate in 1981. Similarly, the circulation of the openly communal newspapers like '*Organizer*', '*Sobat*', '*Marmik*', '*Radiance*' etc. was also very limited. On the other hand, the circulation of popular magazines, newspapers and books is fairly large. They use co-

mmunal or sex issues occasionally to feed the perceptions of readers and boost their sales, while giving little importance to the concomitant responsibility to secularize and democratize the consciousness of people. The speakers pointed out that news was no longer information, but a commodity for sale in the media market. The customers of this commodity called information are the upper and middle classes in the 3000 towns and a limited upper sections in villages of India. The speakers felt that the demand of these customers was foremost in the minds of the 'news industry.' For example, the *Anrit Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta has a more left-oriented Bengali edition and more centrist English edition. This is so because the *Anrita Bazar Patrika* wants to cash upon the new left sentiment in Bengal as against its rightist competitor viz. *Anand Bazar Patrika*.

One of the participants who is doing research on media, contended that news personnel are also to be blamed for wrong reporting. For example, an incident occurred in which eight passengers were killed on 12th September, 1984 near Udhonwal in a bus going from Amritsar to Pathankot. The newspapers reported this incident and exaggerated the number of those killed to 20. Besides, the newspapers attributed the killings to 'Sikh terrorists' when it was actually the task of anti-social elements whose gang-leader was a person named Madan Lal.

CINEMA TV RADIO

Speakers were of the view that cinema, television and radio have not directly preached blatant communalism, though they can be held responsible for two things, viz;

- (1) These powerful mediums have not taken a clear-cut stand on communalism, and have not opposed it squarely.
- (2) These audio-visual media have promoted religiosity, fatalism and superstition. These are not communalist *per se* but do contribute in the existence and persistence of communalism.

TEXT BOOKS : HISTORY

While discussing the content of education in schools and colleges, text-books were discussed. The speakers were of the view that text books, on History particularly, were more prone to communal interpretation. In this context it was mentioned that history cannot be broken into sectarian periods like *Hindu* period, *Muslim* period or *Sikh* period. Similarly, there is no possibility of the existence of Sikh history, Hindu History or Muslim history.

It is a fact that each religion has grown in a separate age and environment. Hence it is possible that the history of different religions has its special features. But from this it does not follow that history can be misinterpreted to mean a *separate* history of different religious groups. A scientific division of periods in history is possible on two basic grounds. Firstly, history can be divided on the basis of region or geographical area whose people share a common historical heritage and a common culture. For example, history of Punjab, Gujarat, Assam etc. Secondly, history can also be divided on the basis of the stage of social development achieved in a particular period. For example, feudal period with agriculture as the main activity and institutions of kinship and autocracy. And the capitalist period with industry as the main activity and institutions of liberal democracy and private property.

So, the speakers strongly felt that the *periodization of history as Hindu, Muslim or Sikh was unscientific*. Being a product of communalism, such a periodization of history concealed the triumphs and trials of humankind in its struggle for better life. Therefore, the Sikh, Hindu or Muslim periodization of history is anti-people.

The speakers dispelled the notion that temples were plundered or places of worship were despoiled for religious reasons. In fact, they cited evidences to prove that places of worship were plundered for wealth

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STUDIES ON COMMUNALISM (Continued)

or to terrify the people so as to rule them, by rulers belonging to all religious groups. Among the examples which are cited in this context were those of Mahmud Ghazni and Harshavardhana. The speakers tried to stress the point that the religion of a ruler cannot be the basis of understanding history. People belonging to both Hindu as well as Muslim religious group were the *oppressed subjects* of the so-called 'Muslim', 'Hindu' rulers and vice-versa. So, one cannot call the period of feudalism to be a period of Hindu or Muslim domination.

However, they underlined the curriculum as a pre-condition for improving text-books. Some of the speakers also questioned the need and relevance of *denominational institutions*. While some others challenged the justification of government recognition and support to such institutions.

The main speakers who contributed their views on the various fa-

cets of communalism included the following :—Professors Bipan Chandra, G. S. Bhalla, Matin Zuberi, M. S. Agwani and Yogendra Singh from Jawaharlal University, New Delhi; Y. K. Alagh, Chairman, Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices, New Delhi; Prof. Mohit Sen, Mr. K. Subramaniam, Director, Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi; Professor(s) S. S. Bal, J. S. Grewal, Surjit Hans and Harish Puri of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar; Prof. B. L. Abbi of Punjab University, Patiala; Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, presently Governor of West Bengal, Calcutta; Sh. T. N. Chaturvedi, Comptroller and Auditor General of India, New Delhi; Professors Moonis Raza, Randhir Singh, V. P. Dutt, Delhi University; Prof. Iqbal Narain, Member Secretary of Indian Council for Social Sciences Research (ICSSR) New Delhi; Asghar Ali Engineer, Director of Institute of Islamic Studies, Bombay; Prof. Shanti Swa-

rup of Shere-Kashmir University, Srinagar; Prof. Bashiruddin of the Centre for Developing Societies, New Delhi; Prof. Arjun Dev; Sh. K. P. Rustamji, distinguished civil servant; Sh. M. N. Buch, Vice-chairman of National Commission on Urbanisation; Prof. Moin Shakir of Maratha wada University, Aungabad; Sh. R. K. Mishra, Editor, Patriot, New Delhi; Sarvashri Iqbal Masud, Ram Dhamija and Subrata Bennerji, noted journalists; D. R. Goyal, Editor, Secular Democracy, New Delhi; Prof(s) G. S. Ghoshal, P. N. Pimpley Dharamendra Goes, J. J. Joshi and Dr. Satya Pal Gautam, Sh. Pritam Dr. Gopal Aiyer and Dr. Jagat Jairth of Punjab University, Chandigarh; Prof. Madhu Malik of Brooklyn University (USA); Rashpal Malhotra, Prof. S. B. Rangnekar, Pramod Kumar, U. K. Zutshi, Y. P. Chatley, Bhupinder Yadav Atul Sood, Kuldeep Kaur and Dildar Khan of CRRID).

A Tagore Song and Indira Gandhi

We have recently seen two books about the late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. One is a trim little volume for young readers (in England or abroad) written by H. Y. Sharda Prasad (Press Advisor in the P. M. Secretariat) and published by the *Ladybird Books Ltd, London*. The second is a date-wise year to year chronicle of Indira Gandhi's life and time as culled out by a librarian-journalist, S. K. Dhawan—A DISCOVERY OF INDIRA GANDHI : A Select Chronology—*Wave Publications, Delhi* (1986) Pp. 330, Price Rs. 300/—.

Since we have not been able to have either of these books reviewed for our readers, we think, it may be appropriate to project a small corner of her mind by quoting one of her favourite Tagore songs with its English rendering by her.

This has been possible due to the courtesy and favour shown to us by H. Y. Sharda Prasad who has allowed us to reproduce the piece.

"If no one listens to your call,
Walk alone.

If in fear they cower, mutely facing the wall,
O hapless one,

Open your mind and speak out alone.

If, as you cross the wilderness, they turn away and
desert you,

O hapless one,

Tread firmly on the thorns along the blood-lined
track, and travel alone.

If, in the storm-troubled night, they dare not hold
aloft the light,
O hapless one,

Ignite your own heart with the lightning and pain,
and yourself become the guiding light."

We are also grateful to A. K. Roy Jaipur for writing down for us the original Bengali song in the Roman Script :—

Jadi tor dak shune ke-u na ash-e tab-e ekla chalo re.
Ekla chalo, ekla chalo, ekla chalo, ekla chalo re.

Jadi ke-u katha na ka-e, ore ore o abhaga,

Jadi sabai thake mukh phira-e sabai kare bha-e
Taba paran khule

O tue mukh phute tor maner katha ekla balo re.
Jadi sabai phire ja-e, ore ore o abhaga

Jadi gahan pathe jabar kale ke-u phire na chae
Taba pather kanta

O tui raktamakha charan tale ekla dalo re.
Jadi alo na dhare, ore ore o abhaga.

Jadi jhad-badale andhar rate du-ar deye ghare
Taba bajranale

Apan buker panjar j(w)aliye niye ekla j(w)alo re.
—Rabindranath Tagore

(Note—It is practically impossible to transliterate Bengali into the Roman Script. The standard diacritical marks used for transliterating Sanskrit also do not help much.

Apart from this, Tagore's poem was meant for singing. Some of the vowels are, therefore, lengthened or shortened to suit the tune.—A. K. Roy)

Nov.-Dec. 1986

Introducing a new column—

PAGES FROM MY DELHI DIARY

—G. B. Kumar Hooja

(There is no doubt that the complexion of the 'old imperial' Delhi has changed far beyond recognition. From a sleepy 'bureaucratic' town, which came to life only on the return of the governmental offices from Simla in the winter, that Delhi was before partition, it is now a burgeoning town throbbing with cultural, aesthetic and literary activities. Here is a sample of the pulsating and vital democratic impulses which came my way during recent months and I record them with pleasure as desired by BH for the readers of the I. B. C.—G. B. Kumar Hooja.)

A SYMPOSIUM

On my return from the Peace March in Europe, which took us through the country-side of Italy along the Sessia Valley to Mt. Rosa and the Larzac Communes of south-east France and then to U. K., I was happy to attend the symposium on "Religion, Politics and National Integration" organized by the All-India Progressive Citizens' Council in the Triveni Auditorium. The various speakers, among them Nawal Kishore Sharma and Pt. Sher Singh, made a strong plea for mutual understanding and called upon different communities to think in terms of national integration and amity.

A POETS' & WRITERS' MEET

On 11th September, I found myself at a meeting of the Authors' Guild of India and the Punjabi Writers Cooperative organized at the Rashtrapati Bhawan for the release, by the Rashtrapati, of Sheila Gujral's collection of Punjabi poems—*Amar Vail*. Amongst others present were Inder Gujral, Padma Sachdev, Amrik Singh and Dr. Karan Singh.

As I entered the corridors of the Rashtrapati Bhawan, I lamented the fall in the standards of maintenance. I noticed chairs standing locked up with each other in the corridors. Gold-plating on picture-frames had withered off. Windows and shutters stood closed, and the meeting room was definitely uncomfortable. The Rashtrapati had to call his A.D.C. to have the windows opened. It sadly reminded me of the last days of the princely state of Tonk (Raj.) to which I had been a sad witness almost three decades ago.

As the Rashtrapati put it, *Punjabi* has become "a very ill served" language, having been split in the vortex of politics and religion. He referred to *Bangla Bhasha*, which he said was well served by Tagore and Mujib-ur-Rahman; but *Punjabi* today was being claimed *only* (if not exclusively) by the Sikhs, to its utter detriment. He said that when he remembered patriots like Saif-ud-din Kitchlew, Sar-

dul Singh Caveeshar and Subhash Bose among others, he felt that their "values" had been defaced, and the nation stood derailed. Yet he was sure that Indian writers could exert great influence on moulding the nation's thought. He, for one, loved all Indian languages, particularly Hindi. That was why he always spoke in Hindi. He asked the Punjabi Writers Cooperative to ensure that writings of creative artists got published and reached the people.

ON NATIONAL ANTHEM

The same day, the Delhi Unit of Citizens for Democracy had called a meeting at the Gandhi Peace Foundation to discuss *inter alia* the judgement of the Supreme Court on the issue of compulsory singing of the National Anthem, holding that to compel Jehova's witnesses to sing the National Anthem infringed the fundamental rights under Art. 19 (1) (a) and 25(1) of the Constitution, following the American view in *Sheldon Vs. Fannin*. (According to this authority, action of the local authorities in compelling the flag salute and pledge transcended the sphere of intellect and spirit which was the purpose of the first amendment to the American Constitution.)

The Citizens for Democracy meeting supported the Supreme Court judgement. However, there was a strong view that this ruling could encourage centrifugal tendencies in the national polity, and would cause a dent in the movement for Indian solidarity and nation-hood which is the crying need of the hour. A review petition has, therefore, now been filed for reconsideration of this judgement. The Prime Minister also has promised necessary corrective legislative action.

PILLARS OF DEMOCRACY

A few days later, FICCI was the venue of third Desraj Chaudhari Memorial Lecture, when Madhu Dandavate spoke on "Challenges to Indian Democracy". Justice Rajendra Sachar presided. (It may be mentioned here that the first two lectures had been delivered by Morarji Desai and R. K. Hegde).

PAGES FROM MY DELHI DIARY (contd.)

Prof. Dandavate spoke of four pillars of Indian democracy, as four planks of democratic action, namely, (i) an awakened **Electorate**, (ii) an alert and vigilant **Parliament**, (iii) an independent **Judiciary**, and (iv) a fearless **Press**. He cited some examples of the achievements and failures of these 4 pillars and urged that these must be strengthened. He severely criticised the Government of India for the Ordinance which enabled it to with-hold reports of enquiry commissions from the Parliament on various grounds, and said that this curbed the right of the Parliament to information. He also questioned the authority of the Government to appoint and transfer judges arbitrarily, and suggested that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Leader of the Opposition should be associated while considering the appointments and transfers. He regretted that the government approach to most issues was casual and hasty; and called for in-depth studies of the issues which confront the people and the nation.

He added, however, that the Constitution had so far, stood the test of the time. What was needed was that the calibre of "the authorities" should be raised. In this connection, he cited the example when the late V. J. Patel, Speaker of the Central Assembly, had chastised the then Home Member for having permitted a European police officer in the lobby of the House without the permission of the Speaker.

CREATIVE WRITING

On the 17th September, a noted Urdu writer, Professor Jogender Pal, shared his experiences of creative writing at the JLN University Centre under the auspices of the Authors' Guild of India. He said that an author would succeed to the extent he identified himself with the sufferings, anguish, frustrations and aspirations of his characters. To the extent he bore the cross and accumulated the pain of the suffering humanity, he would create an impact. Rajendra Avasthi, in his concluding remarks, said that T. V. had come to compete with *the traditional works of fiction*.

On the 18th September, a few Indian and German poets inter-acted with each other at the Max Muller Bhawan. The occasion was a Podium discussion on "the Dual Personality of Poet as a Journalist". The discussion was moderated by Vishnu Khare, followed by recitation of poetry. The question was whether there was conflict between a poet and a journalist when two skills were centered in the same person. Not necessarily, was the consensus; although it was acknowledged that poetry could not earn a living while journalism could offer bread and butter. It was noticed that, as the participants were poet-journalists, nobody had thought of a possible combination of the two values or the dichotomy

between a poet-soldier (Guru Govind Singh), a poet-cobbler (Kabir), a poet-saint (Nanak) and a poet-administrator (Rahim). The Chief Guest Raghuvir Sahai said in his concluding remarks that, "To be a poet is to be an inspired person, and when the poet enters other skills, the result is inspired performance—all the better than a soul-less materialistic existence."

ABOUT THE NAM

On 19th September, Sapru House was the venue of a NAM meeting to celebrate its 25th anniversary. Inderjit wondered if Nehru would have been happy to see where the Movement had arrived, and if Nehru had envisioned the development of NAM as it had taken place during the last 25 years. According to him, NAM seemed to have shed its earlier 'idealism,' NAM had also failed in the sense that during the last 25 years, about a hundred wars had taken place between the members of NAM themselves. He, however, felt gratified that nuclear disarmament was on the top of the agenda of NAM, although he questioned why no concern had been shown about Afghanistan.

Prof. Misra of JLN University pointed out that the challenges of 1986 (before NAM and the world) were different from those of 1961. According to him, the greatest thing now was the Africa Fund. It was time that NAM developed new paths and some effectiveness and a new strategy. He observed that NAM had raised the voice of sanity. But for it, there would have been greater upheavals.

D. A. V. EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT

The same evening, I attended a dinner at the Chelmsford Club in honour of Prof. Veda Vyasa and his team-mates who were going abroad to raise funds for the D. A. V. (Dayanand Anglo-Vedic) educational movement which is celebrating its centenary this year. It has by now made a recognisable place for itself in the educational field of India, being perhaps the strongest 'non-governmental' educational organisation in the country with over 300 public schools, colleges, institutions of research and learning, vocational centres, etc. It seeks to merge oriental learning with occidental science—thereby establishing an harmony in the educational system true to the ancient Indian culture, imbued with global values and seeking to knit entire humanity into a co-operative common-wealth, overcoming national barriers and tendencies.

HOMAGE TO A REVOLUTIONARY

On the 22nd September, Constitution Club was the venue of a meeting in connection with the
(Continued)

PAGES FROM MY DELHI DIARY--

centenary celebrations of Raja Mahendra Pratap, the great revolutionary. He had left his motherland at the out-break of the first world war in search of allies to win back the freedom of India. Later, he announced the formation of the 'first provisional government' at Kabul in 1915, and sought assistance from all the border countries to raise an army for eviction of the British from India.

The meeting was presided over by Bhagwan Singh, former Indian High Commissioner to Fiji and attended among others by Sheel-Bhandra Yaji, Surendra Mohan, Madan Mohan Chopra and Surendra Pandey, who released a book on Mahendra Pratap on this occasion.

HINDI ACADEMY

The Hindi Academy inaugurated its "Hindi Week" at the Triveni Auditorium on 23rd September. The main speakers were Kulanand Bharatiya, Vishnu Prabhakar, Himanshu Joshi, Akshyaya Kumar Jain, Malik Mohammed, Vrajendra Snatak and Narain Dutt Paliwal. All of them agreed that there was no question of thrusting Hindi on anybody. For the slow rate of popularisation of Hindi, they blamed the Hindi-speaking States and pointed out that Hindi was being ignored in the 'Hindi states', where English had acquired a higher status.

Himanshu Joshi wanted to know how many people purchased Hindi books or Hindi journals. Gopal Sharma suggested that 'Hindi' might be renamed as 'Bharati'. Malik Mohammed pointed out that Hindi had continued to have several Muslim supporters and further that *Khari Boli* was, in fact, the direct descendant of *Deccani Hindi*. In one form or the other, Hindi had always remained a link language. Vishnu Prabhakar said that it was not necessary to raise alarms about Hindi. Hindi had already arrived. It should be a language for 'linking' the people and regions and not for delinking, said Kulanand Bharatiya. The consensus was that Hindi should become an "all absorbing" language imbibing what it could from other languages; and the writers should avoid making it difficult or 'incomprehensible'.

On 24th September, a symposium on Maithili-sharan Gupta was held at the Triveni Auditorium. This is the centenary year of the great Hindi poet. Jainendra was the principal speaker and said that *Purushottam Rama* was the hero of Maithili-sharan as of Gandhiji. He said that *Rama Rajya* was projected as a responsive, democratic regime. Otherwise, Rama would not have gone to the forest, nor would he have sent Sita to the forest. In doing so, he had bowed to the will of the *Demos*. Kulanand Bharatiya added that Maithili-sharan had brought to life ancient heroes like Abhimanyu and Laxmana. Vyasa narrated some reminiscences of Maithili-sharan.

Others who spoke on the occasion were Prabhakar Machwe, Vishnu Prabhakar and Vrajendra Snatak.

SANGEET NATAK ACADEMY

The 24th evening also witnessed the commencement of the week-long celebrations in honour of Poet Tagore, organised by the Sangeet Natak Academy in the form of presentation of *Bhakti* songs by celebrated musicians of India under the title *Bhakti Aur Sangeet* at Ravindra Bhawan. It was a delightful evening when about 5,000 music lovers, elite and not so elite, were entertained to the lilting elevating *Rabindra Sangeet*, *Bor* songs, *Zikir* and *Zari* songs of Assam and *Shyama Sangeet* in worship of Goddess Kali under the canopy of a clouded sky in the lawns of Rabindra Bhawan, lit by enchanting lights.

At the Music Festival on the 25th evening, we had the pleasure of hearing Puran Chand Vadali (*Sufi* songs), Singh brothers (*Gur Bani*), songs of Bulleshah, Kabir, Nanak, Guru Arjun and Guru Gobind Singh and Ram Das. These songs overwhelmed the audience and could certainly overcome and act as an antidote to the spread of communal disharmony festered by poisonous propaganda.

On the 26th evening, at the Rabindra Bhawan, Bhungar Khan brought Meera to life and Bhimsen Joshi brought *Sant* Gyaneshwar down to the stage amidst 10,000 music lovers who listened to their renderings in pin-drop silence. When Bhungar Khan and party sang *Mast Kalandar* and songs of Farid and Bulle Shah, the enthralled audience kept the beat of rhythm with them.

A MISCELLANY OF MEETINGS

Earlier, at the Sapru House (on 25th) Romesh Chandra spoke on "NAM and Peace" and said that Dulles had once called NAM 'immoral', and that modern Dulles were out to destroy the United Nations and UNESCO, since they felt threatened by the challenges mounted by the 'coloured-folk'. He pointed out that the nuclear holocaust winter shall destroy even the nation which strikes first, and none shall survive or wish to survive the mal-effects of a nuclear catastrophe.

The Sikh Forum met at the Triveni Auditorium with Gen. J. S. Aurora in the chair with Dr. Amrik Singh and Mahip Singh also on the stage. Most of the speakers lamented the loss of 'faith' in Sikh loyalty and the dangers of a possible back-lash. They urged the need for defensive/offensive measures, but failed, in fact, refused, to connect the problem of the Delhi Sikhs with the more critical Punjab problem.

One has yet to hear an unqualified condemnation of Punjab killings or a call against the danger of any further escalation of terrorism or a possible
(Continued)

PAGES FROM MY DELHI DAIRY—(contd.)

of India by those whose voices must count amongst the Sikh masses. Though Government was assailed for inaction and failure to protect the Sikhs, many speakers acknowledged that the leadership could be relied upon, but said that the rank and file of administration could not. Hence, the Sikhs shall have to live with "insecurity" for a long time to come. This sort of feeling is indeed unfortunate and the situation calls for a deeper heart-searching by the saner elements among nationalist Indians, including the Sikh leaders.

As against such disturbed thoughts, I had some solace and peace when on the 29th, I had the pleasure of listening to Dayal Sahab, the *Radha-Swami Guru* of Khatauli at a *Bhandara* held by Dr. Prem Adhar at Rajouri Gardens. About 400 guests responded, when, in his home-spun but truth-laden speech, the *Guru* said that it was a denial/or non-acknowledgement' of God to say that He 'resided' only in a particular place or spot. Thus all individuals and forms of life were worthy of equal respect and/or worship. He added that a true *guru* led his folk on the path of righteousness. Individuals who sought a *guru* should distinguish between a true *guru* and a fraud, even as a shopper does when he goes to buy an article like *ghee* or honey in the market.

MORE ABOUT HINDI

Sept. 29th was the *Hindi Week Samkalp Divas*. writers met under the chairmanship of Vinod Mishra editor, Daily Hindustan, with Ganga Sharan Singh, president, *Akhil Bhartiya Hindi Sanstha Sangh* as the guest of honour. He referred to the scientific alphabet of *Nagari* script and the growing trend of Hindi to absorb the vocabulary of other languages. He stated that when on 14th September, 1949, Hindi was accepted as the national language, it had already acquired that status. Vinod Mishra support this view adding, however, that the Sanskrit base (of Hindi) should not be altogether cast aside. Vijendra wondered why it was felt necessary to observe a 'Hindi Day' or 'Week' in India. He pointed out that the English or the Japanese never observed such days in support of their languages. He added that Soviet Russia has 66 languages, including Arabic and Persian. Yet Russian was the common language of all there. He suggested that the Indian embassies abroad should pledge to work in Hindi. He lamented the tendency of a certain group in Bombay working for the adoption of the Roman script for Hindi. He pointed out that Roman script by itself was unscientific. This programme was followed by a presentation of 7 Hindi poets—Soor, Meera, Tulsi, Kabir, Pant, Nirala and Maithili Sharan (in the form of an *Indra Dhanush* by Mridang, in which display actors appeared on the stage in the garb of these poets and sang their songs).

Vishnu Prabhakar then led the audience to take a vow, "I solemnly undertake to increasingly

use Hindi in my affairs, while at the same time giving due honour to other languages".

The same day, Prof. Prashant and his wife Saroj described some experiences of their European tour at the Arya Samaj, Mandir Marg. Kedar Nath Sahwney was the chief guest and Kshitish Vedalanekar presided. They had gone to Europe along with the Peace Pilgrims (mentioned by me earlier) and were deeply impressed by the cleanliness of the European towns. They noted that Indians had done well abroad where-ever they had gone, although most among them, still maintained a nostalgia for their motherland. Of Course, the new generation was drifting into European styles and mores. They pointed out that though prosperous, the non-resident Indians were not exactly happy and were surrounded by racial tensions, economic fears and anxieties about their future. They also spoke appreciatively of the Larzac Communes in south-east France established by Lanzo de Vasta, a Philosophy Professor of Pisa University, who had met Gandhiji in 1936 and had been named Shanti Das by him.

These communes are run in the manner of *Gandhi Ashrams* and boast of no electricity, but use candle light. The residents live a simple home-spun life. They believe that the western civilization is headed towards self-destruction, and seek inspiration from the teachings of Gandhi as well as from Noal's Ark.

FURTHER SIDELIGHTS

1st October : A week-long camp of Punjab students drawn from different backgrounds was organised jointly by the Committee for Dialogue on Punjab, the Quaker Peace Fellowship (India) and the Institute for Development Education at Delhi. As explained by Dev Dutt, the aim was to let the youth inter act with each other and have a dialogue free from external pressures on themes like "International and inter-religious Exposures" "the Spirit of Punjabiat" and "Socio-economic Developments and Challenges". Inaugurating the camp, Dr. Amrik Singh traced the genesis of the 'conflict' in Punjab to the ruling cliques including the British. Ram Singh explained that 'the cult of the bomb' never solved any problem, and it must be resisted. The impending tragedy could be avoided only by love, sympathy and spirituality he added. Harish Puri pointed out that just as in China, when Mao-dze-Dong wanted to obliterate the evils of opium addiction, he first identified those who benefited from the trade, in the same way, the challenge of terrorism in the Punjab should be met by identifying those who benefited from it.

On 2nd October, the *Bhojpuri Samaj* assembled at the Himachal Bhawan to celebrate *Unity Day*. With K. K. Tewari in the chair, the various speakers K. C. Pant, Dinesh Singh, Mohsina Kidwai and Kamlapati Tripathi made references to the 1857 Uprising

(Continued)

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PAGES FROM MY DELHI DIARY

and the later-day contributions of Gandhi, Rajendra Prasad and Lal Bahadur Shastri among others. The terrorist attack on the Prime Minister at the Rajghat prayer meeting was condemned. It was pointed that a similar attack on the then Viceroy did not change the government. However, non-violent fight could. Similarly, if today, ballot can change the government why should people have to resort to bullets? While the social and moral values of secularism, social justice and democracy at home, and non-alignment abroad were stressed, it was also urged that the "enemies" of peace and harmony should be identified and fought, while there was time.

The same day, workers of the Servants of the People Society met at the Lajpat Bhawan to pay their tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. Anand T. Hingorani was the chief guest at the celebrations.

On the 4th, a function was held at Triveni to celebrate the completion of one year of *Sanchetana*, a promising Hindi journal. Amongst the participant speakers were Gen. J.S. Aurora, Yagya Dutt Sharma, Inder Mohan and the present scribe, while Rajni Kothari presided.

The **Punjab Problem** was discussed by the Sikh Forum on the 16th October, at the Sapru House. Justice R. S. Narula presided. The star speaker, George Verghese, called for an unequivocal condemnation of terrorism. He read out a poignant letter from a Sikh gentleman from M. P., notionally and symbolically addressed to the tenth guru, Guru Gobind Singh, seeking his guidance. Patwant Singh, Yagya-dutt Sharma and Balraj Puri also spoke on the occasion and they were happy on the successful culmination of the aforesaid Punjab students' camp. Two resolutions were proposed by Amrik Singh: one, condemning terrorism as such, the other calling for suitable action against the perpetrators of violence in Delhi or elsewhere in November 1984.

On the 8th October, the Family Planning Association screened a film "*First day of Life*", which is as excellent attempt at sex education. One regretted that one saw it 60 and odd years too late.

On the 12th October, I responded to an invitation to the 35th annual convention of the *Anuvrat Samiti* at Ladnun (Rajasthan). The movement aims at moral uplift of the community to counteract the present-day negative forces of violence, terrorism, apartheid, economic disparity, drug addiction etc. The convention resolved to conduct 30 *Preksha Dhyana* camps during the next year, to organise *Shanti Seina* and to develop two rehabilitation centres at Delhi and Bombay for 'drug de-addiction', and to observe an Anuvrat enrolment week. The *mahamantra* of Anuvrat is '*Sanyam hi Jiwan Hai* (Verily, self-restraint is life).

At the Sapru House, on the 19th, Swami Bhumanand Tirth Spoke on *Yoga Vasishththa*, under the auspices of the *Bharat Vikas Parishad*. The *Yoga Vasishththa* has 33,000 verses, but there is a *Laghu*

Yoga Vasishththa (a concise version) with 6,000 verses. The Swami has also brought out a version in English: *Quietitude of the Mind*. The message is quite simple and clear: *Purcushaaratha* or manly endeavour, says sage Vashishtha, is the recipe all times, at all places, in all situations, for all the persons seeking upliftment. If it is being'n it leads to good. If it is evil, it leads to harm.

On the 25th, the **Bahais** of Delhi celebrated the United Nations Day at the **Bahai House**, with the Chief Executive Councillor, Jag Pravesh Chandra in the chair. Mr. Patel of U. N. O. made a forceful plea for diversion of the arms budget to development programmes. Ms. Zena Sorabji wondered if peace was elusive. Arun Sinha of A.I.R. Patna spoke of Bahav-Ullah's prophetic vision of 'a *global state*' with all humans as its citizens. Jag Parvesh Chandra recalled the eternal yearning for peace in India; but said, at the same time, that India could not be oblivious to 'the demands of defence' of her long-cherished sovereignty and integrity.

On the 27th, the **Author's Guild of India** were at home to a Chinese delegation consisting of Mr. Jainahiali, a fiction-writer and Mr. Young Mu, a poet, at the India International Centre. Dr. L. M. Singhvi presided. Mr. Jainahiali recalled his meeting with Tagore in 1924. Young Mu recited his poems '*My Home Town*' and '*Sun-set and I*'. The distinguished guests said that, earlier French and Russian writers had influenced Chinese literature; but now they were coming under the influence of American literature.

Dr. Singhvi referred to the creative work being done in various regional languages in India. He said that writers are the real ambassadors, for they can transcend barriers of geography and time. They can communicate their vision to the people and, at the same, bring to fore the pain, anguish, anxieties and the happier feelings of the common-folk. Writers, he said, should build bridges of communication and understanding across national barriers.

On 30th October, Sapru House was the venue of Sardar Patel Jayanti organised by the *Citizens Council of Delhi*. Former Governor, Dharamvira presided. Amongst the speakers were Atal Bihari Bajpai, Krishna Kant, Yashpal Jain and Akshaya Kumar. Tributes were paid to the Iron-man Sardar who had foiled the British conspiracy to 'balkanize' India by knitting it into a potentially strong state. Krishna Kant urged that what India needed today was a *Rashtra Dharma* a living common faith transcending all narrow religious, linguistic, regional or caste considerations.

G. B. K. Hooja, a former administrator turned Vice-chancellor has now become a participant and chronicler of the rich and varied New Delhi scene. He writes about events and activities which do not usually find much notice in the sensational or investigational press media.

Some Academic News :—

Special Number On Samuel Johnson

According to information sent by Dr. V. C. Sharma, Secretary, Johnson Society of India (c/o the Government Arts College, Alwar, Rajasthan), the 1985 volume of the *Rajasthan University Studies in English* (Vol. XVII) was devoted entirely to Dr. Samuel Johnson. It carried contributions by a dozen scholars including Sailendra Kumar Sen, Geoffrey Carnall, R. K. Kaul, Nalini Jain, Shishendu Chakravarti, Prem Nath, L. L. Yogi, Vishnu Chandra, M. N. Saxena, V. C. Sharma, Brijraj Singh, R. P. Rama and A. B. Sharma, who had presented their papers at a seminar held from 6th to 8th December, 1984, to commemorate the bi-centenary of Dr. Johnson's death. With the notable exception of Mr. Carnall, all articles were by Indian scholars and reflected a diversity of approaches.

Conference

A two-day conference on Johnson was also held on December 10-11, in New Delhi. Organized by the Department of English of the University of Delhi, it attracted some notable speakers: *Thomas Curley* (Bridgewater) on "Samuel Johnson and India"; *R. K. Kaul* (Rajasthan) on "Travelogues of Johnson and James"; *R. W. Desai* (Delhi), on "Guilt-stricken Heroes: Rasselas and Joseph K."; *Geoffrey Carnall* (Edinburgh) on "A Constructive Mind under Stress: Aspects of Samuel Johnson's Political Writings"; *Brijraj Singh* (Delhi), on "Only half of is subject: Johnson's *The False Alarm* and the Wilkesite Movement, 1768-1770"; *Prem Nath* on "The Drama's Laws: A Study of *Irene*"; *Nalini Jain*, on "Samuel Johnson, Critic of Shakespeare"; *Lawrence Lipking* (Northwestern), on "Samuel Johnson and the Meaning of Life"; *Jean Hagstrum*, on "Samuel Johnson in partibus infidelium: Ursa Major

among the Deconstructionists". (Jean Hagstrum's paper was presented via cassette.)

Books in Preparation

It was reported that both *Dr. Nalini Jain* (South Campus, Delhi University) and *Dr. Prem Nath* (A. R. S. D. College, Delhi) have been collecting articles for their books on Samuel Johnson.

Johnson Society of India

The Johnson Society of India has been founded with the object of promoting the scholarly study of Samuel Johnson through seminars, symposia and book exhibitions in various parts of the country. It will also draw up an annotated list of contributions by Indian scholars working in the field in India and abroad and endeavour to publish bulletins to inform its members about its activities.

Scholars working on any aspect of Johnson and related areas are requested to send their biographical data and details about publications for future reference and record to Dr. V. C. Sharma, Government Arts College, Alwar, India (301001).

IJECS

The Indian Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies also intends to publish biannually articles relating to life and letters in the eighteenth century. Its next issue, due to be published in 1987, will be entirely devoted to the influence of Newton's *Principia* on science and other departments of human knowledge. The 1687 issue commemorates the first edition of Sir Issac Newton's *Philosophia Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687). For further details write to the General Editor, Amiya Bhushan Sharma, Adampur Chowk, Bhagalpur, 812001 (India).

The Theme was "INDIA-CHANGE IN CONTINUITY"

Frankfurt has long been associated with the arts/techniques and trades of the printed word. Each autumn, a festival of books is held there attended by thousands of book-lovers, publishers and traders from all over the world.

Autumn 1986, the focus was on India; and publishers, book-sellers and distributors, literary agents authors and librarians from India went to Frankfurt individually and in their flocks. The Theme was: INDIA—CHANGE IN CONTINUITY.

On display were thousands of books from India or about India, the sub-continent of teeming (but unfortunately illiterate) millions, which is in the

process of change in spite of all its established traditions, indeed a rich and varied fare of study, analysis and exposition.

What does the world think of these multi-dimensional changes? What do the average Indians think, for that matter? And the Indian intellectuals, writers scholars or critics?

Isn't that what we in the I.B.C., are trying to unravel and bring to fore? But that is another and long-drawn, if not endless, story.

Meanwhile, we invite you to visit the Frankfurt Book Fair with our guide, Surinder Suri. (Please turn the page and read along).—Editor.

Nov.-Dec. 1986

A Report on the *Frankfurt Book Fair* (27th Sept. to 7th Oct. 1986)

The Booking of India : Germany at it Again

Surindar Suri

Most of the major publishers of India were represented at the Frankfurt International Book Fair that was held in October 1986, and whose main theme was India. The National Book Trust had contacted the smaller book publishers and arranged to display their publications, while the larger publishers were present on their own.

PROMINENT WRITERS INVITED

Apart from the publishers' representatives and their books, over two dozen Indian writers were invited to the pre-fair literary workshop where they read from their writings—prose or poetry—and took part in discussions that were quite lively. Mulk Raj Anand and R. K. Narayan were the senior-most of the writers, among whom there were many other well-known ones, such as U. S. Ananthamoorthy, Kamla Das, Qurraitulain Hyder, S. H. Vatsayan popularly known as *Agneya* and Dilip Chitre, to mention only a few. Wit and humour were very pronounced in their writings and speeches, which were deeply appreciated by the listeners. Unfortunately, no writer from Andhra Pradesh or Assam was invited to the conference, but it is difficult to fix the responsibility for the neglect of the two states that are often aggrieved over just such issues. The eminent Punjabi writer Amrita Pritam, who was expected there, could not make it due to ill-health, depriving the audience of the honour and joy of listening to her.

A remarkable experience for writers, publishers and visitors from India was the fact that the display of Indian books at the Frankfurt fair was done in a much more systematic and impressive manner than is the case with book fairs in India. The visitors got an over-view of the various publications far more clearly and comprehensively than would be the case in our own country.

Undoubtedly, the organisational skills of Federal Germany, particularly where exhibitions are concerned, are unrivalled anywhere else in the world. Even the smallest detail is planned meticulously and carried out in a systematic manner.

With regard to cleanliness, it is quite striking that men and women who sweep and wash the halls, pathways, walls, etc., do the job so thoroughly that it reminds one of what the caste system might have been like at the time of its glory. The sweepers, like the blue-and white-collar workers in west Germany,

maintain a commitment to the work-ethic that is indeed remarkable, in view of the phenomenal progress that the country has made in mechanisation of every type of work. It has also achieved a high level of material prosperity and social security. No kind of work is regarded as dirty, mean or degrading,

The contribution of this powerful work-ethic to the success of such events as the International Book Fair is highly important. It is a point that the organisers of fairs and exhibitions in India as well as others might keep in mind. The work-ethic also manifests itself in writing and creative activities generally. In that sense, of course, Germany may be treated as backward and tradition-ridden compared to the more modernised societies such as the U.S.A. So the question arises as to what lessons might Indian writers, publishers and exhibitors derive from the German experience.

DISCUSSIONS — SOME POINTS

Among the central points raised at the discussions in the Frankfurt Book Fair was the essentially **oral character of Indian society and culture**. By and large, Indians are not writers, but speakers and listeners rather than readers. Even the writers who came to Frankfurt were more impressive as readers of their poems or stories.

How to combine or blend the two distinctive traits, namely, that of writing and speaking, with that of reading and listening? Obviously, one answer is to make reading and writing a group activity, so that it becomes social in the manner of speaking and hearing. And many of the publishers from across the globe now offer books not only in printed form, but also as audio-tapes and video-cassettes. Instead of simply reading it, one can now listen to a book or even experience it as an audio-visual reality. This trend, which is just beginning, is likely to grow rapidly in the coming years. One might dial for the required book from a library; read it on a visual display screen, listen to it or have it played audio-visually. No one is pushing the development in this direction harder than the German post and telegraph department.

What opportunities does this offer to India as a predominantly non-literate society? —(contd.)

THE BOOKING OF INDIA : GERMANY AT IT AGAIN

The fact that a majority of the population in India is illiterate may well become a source of strength. At present, India stands at the ninth place in world, in the number of books published every year, although its total population is second only to that of China.

Writers as well as publishers at the Book Fair were somewhat self-conscious as well as perplexed or even complexed in this respect. Even the one-third of the population of India that is literate constitutes a rather significant number of potential buyers of books and readers. But, apparently, apart from the buying power that is needed to make the literate person a customer of the publisher, there is also the question of the technological explosion which impels publication and distribution.

It is feasible to keep human beings unemployed, but not machinery. And while the rate of human reproduction in many of the developed countries has gone down significantly, even alarmingly, this is far from being the case with technological growth. Thus, many newspapers and journals in Federal Germany as well as elsewhere are essentially advertisement media, and these are distributed virtually free of cost.

Books have not yet become advertising media in the same way; but the time is not distant when it will also happen, and one may even be paid for reading a book rather than having to pay for it. Lord Robot will make sure that no one cheats in this matter.

ARTS OF SEEING & READING

The West German Government had set up a special centre at the Frankfurt Book Fair with the aim of convincing people that those who read well, also see better than those who do not read. The argument was that one should become a good reader in order to be a good viewer or voyeur. Surely, India could make use of the scientific argument on which this approach is based, or perhaps reverse the argument. We might ask the people to prove that they are good readers by demonstrating their skill as viewers. After all, this is pretty much the case already with our college and university examinations.

The 'inter-relationship between seeing and reading' could be the subject of an Indo-German seminar in the future, perhaps when Germanp is made the focal theme of an Indian book exhibition in the coming years.

INDO-GERMAN LINKS

One thing is certain: In spite of the many differences between Germany and India, there is a deep

affinity between the people of the two countries. The just concluded Frankfurt Book Fair with its focal theme of Indian writings provided evidence enough of the grass roots kinship between the two countries.

On the surface, Germans are determined to prove their West European identity, even at the cost of cutting them-selves off from their East German fellow nationals. The psychological complex behind this approach is similar to that which impels Indians to modernise and westernise them-selves. Understandably, the vast majority of the books displayed by Indian publishers were in the English language; and some of these were in fact authored by European and American writers.

ROOTS OF TRADITION

There was nothing distinctively Indian about the hall where the stands of Indian publishers were located. In sharp contrast, the relatively small stand for books from the People's Republic of China was beautifully modelled on the traditional art patterns of that country. Why should a communist government be so concerned about its traditional art and craft, but not a democratic country?

The attempt to escape from its traditions is understandable in the case of Germany, because the trauma and the shame of the Nazi past continues to haunt it. By merging its identity into the general European-ness, Germans may try to forget or to control their extremely complex, difficult and tragic past history. Interestingly, the holding of innumerable international exhibitions, including the book and music fairs, contributes significantly to this effort, for these play a *cosmopolitan* role. On the other hand, Frenchmen, Belgians, Italians etc. are keen to maintain their distinctive *national* identities even as they integrate their economies into the European Common Market, or display their books and other goods at the German fairs.

ETHOS OF NON-ALIGNMENT & OTHER-WORLDLINESS

Despite its membership of NATO and other Western institutions, there is something deeply non-aligned about Germany's psyche and ethos. Some day this truth may dawn upon the German elite and the intellectuals. Truth may also dawn upon India about the fact that it is trying to play a Germanic role in the third world, even though it is not so exhibitionist as Germany. Indeed, some *Germanification* of India, so far as the work ethic and organisational capabilities are concerned, would be of great benefit

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THE BOOKING OF INDIA : GERMANY AT IT AGAIN

to the country; and a certain *Indianisation* of Germany in respect of 'detachment or other-worldly asceticism' would give that country the ethical or spiritual power for its own benefit as well as of humankind.

Some of this other-worldliness was presented by the non-formal exhibitors at the Book Fair, who had spread out tables in passages connecting the different halls. Several of them offered publications of an esoteric nature. Bhagwan Rajnish was present in a symbolic manner, with many supporters and opponents. The bad name he has won because of the recent happenings in the U. S. A. and elsewhere has proved to be a boon to other religious groups, particularly Christian ones, who also offer mystical formulas to the needy. The Indian *swamis* who flooded the West in recent years have at least served to rekindle the mythical aspects of the western cultural and religion tradition. One may even term it the impending *Hinduisation* of Western Christianity, beginning with Germany . . . (where else ?)

TOURIST & TRAVEL BOOKS :
TOWARDS TOGETHERNESS

Indeed, the excessive materialism of present-day Europe was visible at the Book Fair in several respects. Tourist and travel books formed a large proportion of those displayed by Western publishers; and many new ones have sprung up who specialise in this genre. A significant lead in this direction was taken by an ingenious writer and publisher who,

along with his wife, had spent some years meditating in India . . . (where else ?). He has brought out a superb guide for wealthy travelers with the title *Business and Pleasure*. Obviously, he had experienced how Indian saints and *swamis* have combined perfect asceticism and other-worldliness with this-worldly ecstasy and joy. If Indian saints can combine the supernatural with the secular, why cannot Western non-saints combine pleasure with business ? Yes, there was no Indian publisher who offered the esoteric or the modern version of his traditional culture in this direction, but Germans and other Europeans made up for this lapse.

If Indian publishers are not doing too well in exporting their publications to Europe, it is not the potential customers who should be faulted. Germany has done its duty, indeed much more, by making India the focal theme of this year's book fair. The two nations have to wake up to each other in an "I-Thou" relationship. As suggested here, why not make Germany the focal theme of a book fair in India ? We may invite German writers to come and speak to us. One well-known German writer, Gunther Grass, is already getting settled in India. He and the others may help to produce the Indo-German synthesis for the good of the two nations and for the benefit of humanity.

Prof. Surindar Suri retired from the Punjabi University, Patiala, some time ago, and is now attached to the Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi.

Learning Through Newspapers :
Opening the Windows to What ? —A Seminar Report by Jasbir Jain

A three-day seminar organised by the Department of English, University of Rajasthan, on *English through Newspapers* was held in early November in Jaipur. With the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. R. P. Agarwal, a renowned mathematician, chairing the inaugural session, the seminar began on an impressive note. Prof. S. K. Verma, Director of the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, delivered the keynote address. Over the next two days, the debate whether or not the English being used in newspapers could be profitably used for the purposes of teaching was carried on by a large number of speakers. Amongst them were the writer-journalist Kushwant Singh, Y. C. Halan (Editor, *Careers and Competition Times*), Sumer Kaul (Deputy Editor, the *Indian Express*) and the Delhi-based correspondents of foreign newspapers : Michael Hamlyn (*The Times*, London), Richard Weintraub

(*The Washington Post*), and Eric Silver (*The Guardian*, London). From amongst the academic world, the speakers were Prof. N. Krishnaswamy (CIEFL), Prof. Sudhakar Pandey and Z. N. Patil (University of Poona), Dr. H. C. Narang (JNU), Dr. B. N. Patnaik (I.I.T. Kanpur), Dr. V. K. Bhatia and Ghadessy (National University of Singapore) and Dr. P. S. Cahuhan (University of Pennsylvania).

THE MULTIPLE ROLES OF ENGLISH

Prof. Verma stressed on the need for English in the context of multi-lingualism of India. English, he said, had a multiple role to play—as a link language both within and outside the country, as a library language, as a language for special purposes, and as a classic/foreign language. He pointed out that none of the roles was mutually exclusive. Mono-lingualism

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Learning Through Newspapers : Opening the Windows to What ?

in India was both undesirable and unrealistic. He did not say much about curriculum or the extent to which one could proceed beyond it. Dr. Bhatia, in his paper, pleaded strongly for the use of newspapers as 'additional' teaching tools, mainly on the ground that they carried stories of human interest, provided both linguistic and thematic variety and were 'easily available and accessible'.

However, there were scholars who disagreed with these generalisations. Prof. Krishnaswamy struck a cautionary note when he pointed out that the 'linguist' component was not the teacher's only concern. Education had traditionally been linked with ideas, the germination of ideas and the training of mental faculties. There was no need to feel apologetic about the need to maintain quality or to retain a degree of challenge in the curriculum. Quoting Cardinal Newman, he pointed out that all that was useful was not necessarily good. Theories of language were related to theories of knowledge and of the mind.

A QUESTION OF STANDARDS

Media men were both more self-critical and practical in their approach to the subject. S. Khushwant Singh was very emphatic in his views that 'academic standards' are not applicable to journalism, where there is a great deal more laxity than is permissible in academic writing. Journalism, in its very purpose, was different from academic studies. It aimed not only at communication but was concerned with enjoyment, popularity and the need to sell. He pointed out that Indian journalism in English suffered from a peculiar 'sameness'. Most newspaper writing lacked any individual flavour and was one-dimensional; perhaps because the habit of reading was a dying one. Newspaper language also needed to grow and to enrich itself, and not to move around in clichés, set phrases and dead metaphors. The elaborate apologies made by teachers of English themselves were proof enough of the fact that the colonial hang-over still continues nearly forty years after independence. What is missing is a sense of pride in the language we wish to learn, to teach, to use, and to know. Few in the audience were willing to confront these hard realities of the situation and many dismissed Khushwant Singh's views as being in line with his *Malice Column*.

Later, Sumer Kaul and Y. C. Halan were also extremely practical and down-to-earth in their approach. They pointed out the constraints under which journalists worked. Sumer Kaul stressed the story angle of a newspaper report, and Y. C. Halan pointed out that roughly perhaps less than 30 per cent of the University student population read English language newspapers, and that too for the furtherance of their careers, and in order to prepare for compe-

titive examinations. The argument put forward by many university teachers, amongst them Professor Chauhan, that though the students felt disinterested and overawed by literary language, they were more amenable to reading newspaper stories was thus counter-balanced.

THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION OR LEARNING THE LANGUAGE

Several pertinent questions were raised by Eric Silver who considered the whole exercise irrelevant if it could not be related to an identifiable purpose of education. His views highlighted the fact that analysis of the kind of language used in advertisements, or the code-mixing prevalent in the language of the newspapers, or the borrowings from other languages by creative writers were parts of a redundant exercise, if the question why one learns a language was left unanswered.

There was an aura of the Orwellian world on more than one occasion. The advice given on the use of language followed closely Orwell's advice in "*Politics and the English Language*"; and a remark made by Edward Hower (creative writer) that a society got the journalists it deserved, reminded one uncannily of Orwell's remark that a society got the leaders it deserved. Further, the whole approach of making language learning simple and mechanical, an exercise in externals, and a separation between thought and expression, left one with the suspicion that the world of Newspeak was on us.

FOCUS MISSING

The seminarists never got down to defining the focus of the seminar, and one was not quite sure whether the discussion was on the kind of language being used in the English-language newspapers and justifying its deviations, or about the use of newspapers for the purpose of teaching and learning English. Further, it was often referred to, but never quite spelt out, whether it was to be an activity carried out, outside the classroom or one to be brought into the classroom, and thus to substitute the textbook. The more important issue that language in order to stay alive needs to grow constantly was sidetracked. The methodology of using newspapers as a language-learning medium was also not discussed. The learners to be exposed to this kind of teaching were not identified. At no stage did anyone take the trouble of spelling out whether this should be a method adopted for school-level learners, university students, or adult learners.

Similarly, the theoretical dimensions of language-learning process whether English or Hindi, or

(Continued)

LEARNING THROUGH NEWS PAPERS.....(Continued)

any other language, or the general deterioration in man's ability to communicate never came up for discussion. Very often, one got the impression that a lot of window-dressing was going on; and teachers had momentarily donned the garb of salesmen and advertisers, wanting the students 'to buy' what they had to sell. One gentleman remarked that yesterday's newspaper was as good as today's not realising that yesterday's pudding smells of staleness and might cause a stomach upset if not food poisoning.

QUESTIONS BYPASSED

The discussion itself appeared to be a culmination of 'two-culture' theory, which has been rife for more than a century, with the sciences getting the better of the humanities, for in this approach to language which ignored content as well as the moral aspects, the separation between language and ideas, art and morality is implied. It also implies an abject surrender of the very essence of humanity, incorporated as it is in man's ability to communicate. The extremely important question of freedom of the press was also bypassed. Imagine for a moment the consequences of this approach under a dictatorial regime. Even at the best of times, the media is limited by several self-imposed constraints. Students brought up on a diet of easy to prepare fast foods will perhaps become incapable of relishing the more nourishing but dull home-cooked food.

There are other doubts and queries which remain unanswered, and one of them is; Are journalists a separate species? And is the language they use a different variety? Macaulay once wrote about Johnson:

All his books are written in a learned language, in a language in which nobody ever quarrels, or drives bargains, or makes love, in a language in which nobody ever thinks. It is clear that Johnson himself did not think in the dialect in which he wrote. The expressions which came first to his tongue were simple, energetic, and picturesque. When he wrote for publication, he did his sentences out of English into Johnsonese.

With several examples of newspaper English available i. e. 'dreaded terrorist,' 'C. I. D. sleuth', 'miscreant', one could as well say that the language of the newspaper is a language "in which nobody ever quarrels, or drives bargains, or makes love, a language in which nobody ever thinks"; and he who learns through it writes not in English but in 'journalese'.

Dr. Jasbir Jain has recently taken over as Head of the English Deptt. in the Rajasthan University. (Earlier she had covered this seminar on our special request—Editors).

A HALF PAGE : IN LIEU OF THE LAST PAGE

With this issue, we ring out the old year! The IBC has completed 11 years—a matter for gratification and pride for all of us.

Its future depends on the support and co-operation it gets from the readers, subscribers—both individual and institutional—contributors and reviewers, and above all from the publishers. There are many universities or colleges and public libraries which do not subscribe to this journal. There are publishers who fight shy of extending their helping hand. How many of them have come forth to stand by and support a journal which seeks to serve them? Does one have to say more, and in a more explicit or specific manner?

With regard to coverage and content, we have not managed to offer all that we had planned. For example, the two International Meets of Sociologists and Economists with their preparatory and follow-up activities could not be reflected in these columns. Creative and critical writing in English and other regional languages has had a weak or poor show. Write-ups on personalities or institutions, on Krishnamurty, Rukmini Arundel Kipling, Prem Chand Maithili Sharan or Masti and many others have not materialised. So many activities or books and spheres of human knowledge have remained uncovered.

We need the widest possible support, both aca-

demical and financial, from a large and ever widening or expanding outer circle of subscribers, readers and contributors in all parts and academic centres of the country and abroad. Then there should be an inner concentric ring of close friends and active supporters—writers, critics, poets, scholars and book-lovers, as well as those active in the various aspects of the book trade. They must contribute in the IBC rescue or salvage operation with all their might. Nearer to the core, we need to draw and sustain a close and intimate ring of some Jaipur-based active participants or partners, men and women of any disciplines and of diverse interests.

Let us join hands, our heads and hearts, to ensure that during 1987, IBC can reach each and every university or institution of higher education, research or training, each and every significant public library, at least one at each district headquarter or an important town. We should aim to make I. B. C. accessible and within reach of the academic, professional, executive or administrative community even in the far-flung and out-of-the-way places. *Leh* is our target! So is *Jaisalmer*?! So also *Kanya Kumari*!! *Kutchh* or *Kamrup*—Arunachal Pradesh!! Our targets are the people, young and old, who do not have much time to spare to find out what rest of India is reading or what is being published in the country and abroad.

Constitutional Adjudication

Upendra Baxi

COURAGE, CRAFT AND CONTENTION

Publishers : N.M. Tripathi Pvt. Ltd., Bombay (1985) Pp. 150, Price Rs. 75/-.

Reviewed by Mohammad Ghouse

The problems of poverty have posed a formidable challenge to the political process and the judicial process in India.

The political process responded to this challenge in a modest manner by resorting to economic planning within the framework of the "trickle down theory", though its growth model was not in tune with socialism as it favoured growth and not development.

The response of the judicial process was negative. The targets of the economic reforms wanted the Court to evolve a judicial process dysfunctional to the implementation of the programmes of economic change. The vested interests easily persuaded the Court, which had never before faced contests between *status quo* and social change and which had operated a legal system that had denied change in colonial India, to act as the conscience keeper of *status quo*, eschew socialism, favour the negative "night watchman" state bequeathed by the British and not the positive state envisaged by the Directive Principles and refuse, consistently, to place the property-rights in their socialistic setting. The impact of this judicial process on the programmes of economic change is now well known.

THE CHANGING ROLES

When the Indira era replaced the Nehru era, the Court developed an allergy towards the new style of politics. That placed the leader over and above the organisation and the Constitution. It slowly became an activist adversary of the Prime Minister, usurped constituent power, obstructed her populist programmes and even teased and taunted her. Later, in 1975, it performed a somer-

sault and entered into 'a partnership in authoritarianism' with the Prime Minister. As an activist adversary of the Prime Minister, the Court developed its earlier role of rich man's court into the role of clientable agency of the vested interests and serviced the interlocking collusive system of power elites and vested interests.

Drubbed by the electorate in 1970 for its economic policies, and in 1977 for its support for authoritarianism, and led in 1977 by judges ready to see the new light and to follow electoral verdicts, the Court modified its policies; the political policy radically and the economic policy noticeably. In the 1980's, the Court assumed the role of poor man's court, developed public interest litigation into the legal apparatus of the poor man's court, crossed the great divide between the negative and the positive state and tried to construct affirmative constitutional doctrines. Although there was no dearth of judges determined to play fragments of old tunes, the architects of the new judicial process sometimes returned to their old habits to give us *Olga Tellis* and *A. K. Roy*. (*Olga Tellis v. Bombay Municipal Corporation*, A.I.R. 1986 S.C., 180 and *A. K. Roy v. Union of India*, AIR 1982 S.C. 710). But by and large, the consequences of the role reversal, the ideological change and the transfer of favours from the targets to the beneficiaries of reforms, mark off the new from the old constitutional adjudication.

SENSITIVE POLICY ISSUES

As these twists and turns in constitutional adjudication, with significant public policy overtones, are of absorbing interest to political jurists, Upendra Baxi, one of

our foremost academicians, has turned to them in his Setalvad Lectures. His book "*Courage, Craft and Contention*" dedicated to S. N. Jain, a devotee of legal research in India, grapples with judicial activism, independence of the judiciary and basic features of the Constitution, which encompass sensitive issues of social and political interest.

As "the thing that counts chiefly is the nature of the premises", (*Cardozo : The Growth of the Law*, 62 (1924) 167) it is necessary to identify Baxi's major premises in order to review his value-judgements on sensitive questions of public policy covered by his lectures. It is trite to say that scholars, like judges, are products of their background and are vulnerable to internal as well as external influences. So the determinants of their opinions, like those of judicial opinions, do not lie in legal rules. Baxi's economic predisposition is writ large on the certificate of 'well-done' he has given to the courts for their performance in the area of land reforms. (*Upendra Baxi : Supreme Court and Politics—Eastern Book Co., 1980*). His political predilection is manifest from his eloquent support repeatedly extended, to *Shukla* (*ADM Jabalpur v. Shiva Kant Sushkla—(1976) 2 SCC 521*) legitimizing the emergency regime. His liberal predisposition is reflected in his plea for the extension of the right to speedy trial to the rich also (*Upendra Baxi's case comments in JILI*) and his support for the judicial crusade against state lawlessness launched after the post-emergency revelations that the rising tide of lawlessness in law enforcement had engulfed the elites too, during the emergency.

II. JUDICIAL ACTIVISM—OLD AND NEW

Baxi's analysis (in the book under review) of the judicial response to the challenge of agrarian reforms is not the strongest part of his book. Here, unlike in his earlier writings, he has tried to wrap his economic preferences and his property-consciousness in sophistry. He has, of course, repeated what others have

(Continued Overleaf)

CONSTITUTIONAL ADJUDICATION—(Continued)

already said about the contributions of the judges drawn from the *Kulak* class to the emasculation of these reforms. Baxi does not, however, seem to believe that if the present power structure is not radically changed, all reforms passing through it would benefit mostly the vested interests. And so if agrarian reforms fail, all other institutional reforms will get perverted to serve the interests of the soldiers of *status quo* in rural India. Non-availability of records, lack of political will, non-involvement of beneficiaries in the process of implementation of reforms, oft-repeated facts though they are, do not and cannot justify judicial strangulation of agrarian reforms.

His treatment (at pp. 8-10) of land reform measures as a super-structural issue of the role of judicial review confronted with the assertion of Parliamentary Sovereignty and his finding that the ninth schedule "did not bring any radical implementation of agrarian reforms" (at P. 9) bring into focus Baxi's preferences and predilections without throwing any light on facts. It is well known that the Supreme Court has been responsible for the loss of millions of acres of surplus land to the country. (*K. Kunhi Koman v. State of Kerala*, AIR 1962 S.C. 723). After hearing arguments on the validity of the Kerala ceilings reforms, the Bench,² presided over by Justice Gajendragadkar, delivered on the same day two unanimous judgments on the validity of this reform. Justice Gajendragadkar upheld (*Purushotham Nambudri v. State of Kerala*, AIR 1962 S.C. 694) while Justice Wanchoo invalidated this reform. (*K. Kunni Koman v. State of Kerala*, AIR 1962 S.C. 723) But for this case, the Seventeenth Amendment would have been unnecessary. *Sajjan Singh* and *Golaknath* would not have arisen. Invalidation of nationalization of banks and abolition of the *Privy Purses* would not have been as expensive as they were. And institutional harmony would not have been jeopardized. In spite of all this, Gajendragadkar was hailed as the champion of social justice. And Wanchoo was regarded as a

progressive judge for his dissent in *Golaknath* though, but for him, *Golaknath* would never have visited us. This Wanchoo-opinion is easily the costliest opinion in the history of this country as it led to extensive evasion of this reform, until its revival in the 1970's. In the 70's, the High Courts scuttled the revived reform. (*Mohammad Ghouse, Agrarian Reforms: Politics Vs. Social Engineering*, Indian Bar Review 1983) In the face of this judicial antimony how can there be a radical implementation of agrarian reforms even if there is a political will to implement them. Why did the judges provide the politician with alibi for his failure if they were convinced that he was not going to implement them? To do this, was it necessary for them to be so activist as to usurp and assert constituent power? Are not the answers obvious?

It is difficult to see why Baxi does not regard *Kunhi Koman* or *Cooper v. Union of India*, AIR 1970 S.C. 1202 or even *Golaknath* (*Golaknath v. State of Punjab*, AIR 1967 S.G. 1943) as a medium of judicial activism, though they fit into his inadequate conception of judicial activism as exercise of judicial power seeking re-codification of power relations among the dominant institutions of state manned by members of the ruling classes and involving preferred notions of the role of a judge and necessitating a grasp over ideologies. (Baxi does not clarify whether he treats a court as activist when it merely makes law or when it not only makes law but also extends its jurisdiction or when it does what the other branches of government have refused to do. As a court can make law or enlarge its jurisdiction to frustrate a change or to generate a change, Baxi should have considered the object and purpose of law-making. The question Baxi repeatedly asks "whose problem is the problem of judicial activism" does not take him to the vested interests who were the beneficiaries of the judicial activism of the 50's and the 60's. The echo of this activism was heard in 70's and is still being heard in the 80's). The principal differences between the media of the old and the

new judicial activism lie in the rights they enlarged, the roles they furthered and the ends they serviced. If activism is only the means to an end, the legitimacy of the end as well as the reasonableness of the means employed to accommodate the end merit careful analysis. Viewed from the perspective of societal interests, there is no doubt that the end of old activism was not legitimate. And the means employed were unreasonable. As regards the new activism, the legitimacy of the end is undeniable. And from the point of view of the poor, the means employed are not unreasonable.

Baxi's interesting analysis of the new activism pays little attention to the new role-perception of the Court, though he has said that judicial role is relatable to judicial activism. The abandonment of the role of conscience-keeper of *status quo* and the assumption of the role of poor man's court in *Asiad* and the performance of the new role in *Bandhua* case merit attention, despite *Olga Tellis*, permitting slum-demolition in Bombay. The duties that the poor man's court owes to the poor, the judges' motivation to discharge these duties as none of them comes from that class, the institutional limitations, if any, constricting the capacity of the court to play this role and similar other issues arise out of the new judicial activism. If the rich judges have a low motivation to play this role, should the political process value-pack the Court to give it a high motivation? Can the institutional limitations be minimized? For example, the inevitable activist forays into questions of economic policy by the poor man's court call for economic learning from the judges. And they do not have this learning. The sources of inputs of the Court lying in the traditional form of litigation are not adequate enough for sound policy outputs. So what new information technology can we give to the Court? Is the judge entitled to do his research? How tenable is Seervai's outburst* against Justice Bhagwati's reliance on his own research findings in his belated dissent in *Bachan Singh*? Is the requirement

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CONSTITUTIONAL ADJUDICATION—(Continued)

nt of adversary process complied with if the judge places before the contending counsels his own research findings? Another important question connected with activism is, what should an activist judge do when what is constitutionally valid is economically unsound or socially harmful?

The promise and potential of the judicial activism of *Asiad* and *Bandhua* cases in a social milieu, in which interlocking collusive system of power elites and vested interests opposes implementation of reforms inimical to its interests, merits consideration. A random sample of such reforms includes reform of tenancy, ceiling on urban or agricultural property, abolition of rural indebtedness and the like. Non-implementation of the law embodying these reforms by the executive is a form of state lawlessness. So under the public interest litigation, should the activist court follow the precedents and mandate implementation of such reforms?

Baxi's analysis of the activist judicial response to the problems of lawlessness in law enforcement is illuminating. Although there is some merit in his plea that it is too early to embark on an impact analysis of public interest litigation, the rising incidence of commission of crimes inside police lock-ups and prisons, and unabashed reports of interrogation of alleged terrorists in police lock-ups continuously for several hours, which fly in the face of the judicial policy seeking to humanise the police and the prison processes, call for impact analysis of this policy. Baxi may now persuade the Indian Law Institute to switch over from doctrinal to empirical research and to undertake micro studies to identify the impact of the cases of *Nandini*, *Hussainaras*, *Batras* and the like.

We would like to reiterate here what we have said elsewhere** that under no circumstances should the judges countenance an argument that an activist employment of the bill of rights against the police undermines the system's effectiveness, as such an argument presupposes that the police should be supra con-

stitutional. The levers of judicial control over the police should not be loosened or weakened. As judicial assistance is essential, from the remand of a suspect to police custody to his conviction and imprisonment, and also as the police desperately wants conviction of the accused, the courts can control police behaviour if they refuse to convict the accused whenever the police violates the law and the Constitution. Evaluation of effectiveness of judicial policy on policing the police should be alive to the fact that judicial control is only one of the social controls over the police and that its effectiveness should not be isolated from the effectiveness of other forms of social control.

III. BASIC STRUCTURE—
MISCONCEPTIONS

As the doctrine of basic structure is an outcome of judicial activism, Baxi's analysis of this doctrine is hampered by the limited range of his analysis of judicial activism. A comparison of the judicial policy contained in the cases that led to the first, fourth and the seventeenth amendments with the public policy contained in the law challenged in those cases or a comparison of the purposes of these amendments with the fluctuations in the judicial policy on constituent power will go against the judicial process. The striking feature of these two judicial policies, which had no roots in the Constitution, is that it sought to further the clientele and not the societal interests. Invalidation of nationalization of banks, it should be remembered, highlighted the purpose of immunization of fundamental rights from amendment by *Golaknath*. The electoral rebuff of the Court in 1970 led to a profound strategic change in the judicial policy on constituent power. It disowned *Golaknath* but not the inviolability of Fundamental Rights. And all along—fundamental rights meant property rights. As property-rights protect persons owning property—the more the property the more the protection—the social cost of immunization of those rights from amendment

after the Court had blown them into formidable road blocks to economic change may be tremendous. Such immunity from amendment may give the vested interests greater ascendancy over the power elites. From this point of view, justice Khanna is entitled to the gratitude of posterity as, when the judges were equally divided on whether Fundamental Rights constituted a basic feature, it was he who said that fundamental rights *sans* property rights constituted a basic feature. If any one finds that this fact is not manifest from Justice Khanna's opinion in the case of *Kesavananda*, then this judge is not to be blamed for it.

Baxi's employment of Justice Khanna as a favourite whipping boy is animated, probably, by Baxi's sensitive but subterranean concern for property rights. It was Justice Khanna who facilitated the exit of these rights from the Constitution, though not from the mythology of some of the judges. Baxi's indignant outburst against Justice Khanna's so-called explanation in *Indira Gandhi Vs. Raj Narain* (75) case ignores the crucial point. In that case, Justice Chandrachud had misread the Khanna opinion in *Kesavananda*. This fact necessitated correction of Justice Chandrachud.***For this, Justice Khanna had to revisit his opinion in *Kesavananda*. It is significant that no other surviving member from *Kesavananda* bench who sat on the *Indira Gandhi* bench, had misread Khanna. Not even Chief Justice Ray or Justice Beg!

Similarly, Baxi's extensive analysis of the Chandrachud opinion in *Minerva Mills's Union of India* (AIR 1980 SC 1789) invalidating section 4 of the Forty-second Amendment leaves much to be desired. This section had amended Article 31-C to subordinate Articles 14 and 19 to all Directive Principles. The unamended Article 31-C upheld by the Court in *Kesavananda*, had subjected Articles 14 and 19 only to Article 39 (b) and (c). Baxi supports the decision but not the reasons given by Chief Justice Chandrachud—a technique so frequently employed by Baxi's *bete noir*—Seervai. Before
(Continued Overleaf)

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CONSTITUTIONAL ADJUDICATION—(contd.)

to we turn to Baxi's reasons let us take a look at the reasons given by Chief Justice Chandrachud :

"The Indian Constitution is founded on the bedrock of the balance between Parts III and IV. To give absolute primacy to one over the other is to disturb the harmony of the Constitution. This harmony and balance between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles is an essential basic feature of the Constitution". (quoted by Baxi at page 85)

As this basic feature has no habitat in any provision of the Constitution, it is clearly a creature of the Court. Such a vague and elastic basic feature orbiting above the Constitution gives a judge underfined power. And the political process will never know before-hand as to when an amendment or amendment of which provision of the Constitution may abrogate such a basic feature.

Take Article 31(c). According to *Kesavananda*, basic feature is not abrogated, if Articles 14 and 19 are sub-ordinated to Articles 39 (c) and (c) though more often than not, it is with these Directives that Articles 14 and 19, as construed by the Court come into conflict. It is, thus, a super-sensitive balance and a highly brittle harmony that this basis feature is made of. It is, however, our submission that as the doctrine of basic features is a constraint not only on the constituent authority but also the political sovereignty of the people, it should not be used as a peg to hang judicial conservatism on.

Baxi, who saw in the ninth schedule "assertion of Parliamentary supremacy over judicial supremacy", sees in Article 31 (c)—why only in Article 31 (c) we do not know—the arrogance of supreme executive trying to justify itself in terms of the ideology of the written constitution. According to him, the grand strategy behind the amendment is that the executive wants the judiciary accept the amendment and authenticate its own irrelevance as an ins-

titution of governance, and survive as a helpless spectator of violation of rights, or reject the amendment and accept the responsibility for "halting the great march to Progress." This is just an argument of fear. The crucial question here is why was Article 31-C amended? Baxi may be aware of the reach of the rule in *Prag Ice and Oil Mills vs. Union of India AIR 1978 SC 1296* which denies to the orders issued in pursuance of a law or a regulation entrenched in the ninth schedule immunity from Articles 14 and 19. *Wamon Rao vs. State of Maharashtra (1980) 3 Sec 587* has subjected post-Bharati amendments of the ninth schedule to the doctrine of basic features. As the spectre of Articles 14 and 19 now hovers over the implementation of the entrenched reforms, Justice Krishna Iyer said in *Waman Rao* that only Article 31-C could save their implementation from invalidation. Thus the amendment of Article 31-C was animated by a social necessity and not by any sinister political design.

Viewed from this perspective, Baxi's contentions that *Waman Rao* shows that *Minerva Mills vs. Union of India AIR 1980 SC 1789* has not accomplished the subservience of Directive Principles to Fundamental Rights, these two cases have liquidated the potential for exploitation of dissonance between the directive principles and the fundamental rights, and that these rights are essential for the poor as they provide them with the capacity to ask the dominant groups and the supreme executive to implement the directive principles sound strange. Why was the challenged amendment invalidated in *Minerva Mills* if the directives are not treated as sub-servient to the rights? Do the poor need these rights just to ask for implementation of the directives? Probably, freedom of speech includes the right to beg. And, pray, to whom should these people turn when the Court itself frustrates implementation of the economic reforms seeking to implement the directives and treats its own predisposition as a basic feature? Baxi's conclusion represents

the most elegant exercise in escapism : "*Minerva Mills* and *Waman Rao*, have endeavoured heroically to limit the expansion of the repertoire of repression, already fascinatingly rich, available to the governing elites.

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(The following court cases or other references have been quoted in the text from column no. 3 on page 278 of this review. Due to some mix-up these details could not be incorporated in the text at appropriate place—Ed.) :—

—*Asiad : Peoples' Union for Democratic Rights Vs. Union of India*, (1982) 3 SCC 255.

—*Bandhua : Bandhua Mukti Morcha case* (1984) 3 SCC 161.

* *Seervai, Constitutional Law of India XI (N.M. Tripathi, Third Edition)*

--*Bachan Singh V. State of Punjab*, AIR 1982 S.C. 1325

—*Nandni Satpathy Vs. P.L. Dani*, AIR 1978 S.C. 1025

—*Hussainara Vs. State of Bihar*, AIR 1979 S.C. 1360

—*Sunil Batra V. Delhi Administration*, AIR 1978 S.C. 1675; AIR 1980 S.C. 1579

** *Mohammad Ghouse. The Pre-Trial Criminal Process and the Supreme Court*, 13 Indian Bar Review, 22 (1986)

—*See Kesavananda Bharati V. State of Kerala*, AIR 1973, S.C. 1461

—*Indira Nehru Gandhi V. Raj Narain*, (1975) Supp. Sec. 1

***see *Mohammed Ghouse. Conscience Keepers of Status Quo. IX Journal of the Bar Council of India*, 1 (1982) for a discussion on the basic structure doctrine.

—*Minerva Mills V. Union of India*, AIR 1980 S.C. 1789

—Quoted by Baxi, *Supra* n. 6 at 85

—*Prag Ice and Oil Mills V. Union of India*, AIR 1978 S.C. 1296

—*Waman Rao Vs. State of Maharashtra* (1960) 3 Sec. 587.

Academic Community & Books—by Rakesh Hooja

(In the September-October issue, Vol. XI Nos. 9 & 10 pages 235-36, we carried a part of the report on a Round Table Discussion about "The Academic Community, Books & Book Reviews", held in the University of Rajasthan on 1st October. We now present the second part of the report in which some practical suggestions or recommendations have also been outlined. We hope that somewhere, some-one with a concern for the spread of knowledge through books would react favourably to some of these suggestions

—Editors)

Most participants in the Round Table Discussion were unhappy and deeply concerned about the gradual decline in (what, some-one said, had once been) the 'culture of books' or a deep love and regard for books in India.

The roots of the Indian culture are deeply enshrined in ancient texts of the Vedas etc. the *Shrutis* and *Smritis*. Religious books of all faiths and sects have always been shown deep and widespread reverence whether at home or in public, in the houses of prayer or where devotional songs and *bhajans* are sung. We bend and bow with due reverence in the presence of sacred books of all faiths—Vedas, the *Jain* or *Buddhist Scriptures* the *Gita* and *Guru Granth Sahib*. That has been our culture.

Yet, the new generations of modern India are growing indifferent and negligent about both the spiritual and the secular variety of books. Very few young persons care to delve into them, to study and benefit from even the holy books which may still be adorned, worshipped and recited in their homes.

On the other hand, and unfortunately now when children come to school and are saddled with the "burden" of an ever-increasing load *bastas* (or bags of books, the emphasis is limited to the prescribed courses of study, or text books as such, with the terminal examinations in view. And this goes on, till it is time for the young but mainly text book-bound adolescents to leave school and enter the portals of the universities and seats of higher learning, or in the alternative to face the rough weather and the uncharted ways of day-to-day life, full of all kinds of practical problems and social challenges for which different sets of skills are required.

Except in the case of a few select young persons, the atmosphere either at home or in the class rooms and the premises of educational institutions, even in the village or city neighbourhoods, is hardly congenial or conducive to foster in them a deep and lifelong interest for good and selective reading or a deep love and care for books. Few people can afford to buy books or have access to them in the school, college or public libraries. Very few homes would boast of having a rich and varied collection of books to indicate their wider and general interests in other than mundane or routine affairs of life.

Thus, over the years, a situation has developed or is fast developing in which, while on the one hand there has been an unprecedented explosion in the world of knowledge or information both through the print media and otherwise, or leisure-time perusal of books and magazines, on the other hand, the ever new generation and mass circulation of electronic and audio-visual gadgets for entertainment or information and education (if you would like to call them that) are making books more and more irrelevant or marginally useful.

We also have reached a situation in which the publishers and, to some extent, the writers of books are not able to rise to the occasion and meet the challenges of the fast changing times and the changing fashions or habits of reading.

As was stressed in the Round Table Discussion, in the western world, over the last few decades, there has been a steady increase and expansion in the various aspects or dimensions of the "book world" also, in spite of and in the face of a growing and stiff competition by other more glossy and attractive and accessible or easily manipulative media. All over the West, parents, teachers, child psychologists, social scientists and educationists seem to be perturbed over the invasion and inroads made by the radio, film and now the TV and video culture in their homes and in the educational institutions. And yet books are not dead in the USA or in Europe. They may be changing their format, content or charm. They still keep coming in new editions and in large print orders.

But in India, we could not say that the book world would be able to withstand the growing onslaughts of TV or video. Pursuit of knowledge and information and the search for deeper values of life or the roots of civilisation and outlines of the future through the medium of books may have to yield to the pressures and pleasures of the rising waves of expectations of modern consumerism which has come hand in hand, or is being promoted through the modern electronic media (to the neglect and detriment of books etc.). First the challenge was from radio and the cinema, now it is also from TV and its accessories.

—(contd.)

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ACADEMIC COMMUNITY & BOOKS--(Continued)

Such were the sentiments and feeling of deep concern in the hearts and expressions of most participants. They also felt that by themselves, they could not do much to stem the tide and stop the rot, at least, as far as the homes of average citizens are concerned or the school premises and public libraries. However, they all agreed that they can and must join the battle at least at the college and university level. They and their other colleagues or fellow teachers must wake up to the situation, realise their responsibilities and set into motion certain reformatory or remedial measures to ensure that, side by side with their learning their text books or preparing for the examinations, large sections of students are helped and encouraged to develop some life-long interest and love for books on various other subjects or topics of current value or interests.

Here at random are some of the points or suggestions made by the participants :

1. The methods and styles of teaching at the university level need to be changed so that, instead of depending on lectures and class notes or guide-books, **students are encouraged and called upon to do a lot of self-reading or extra reading on their own.** They must learn to consult books for general knowledge and information as such, for preparing their courses of study. They can be involved in tutorials, given some writing assignments or involved in discussions on what they are reading, in seminars and such like activities which make them refer to books at home or in the college/university library.

2. Reading of books, not only prescribed text books or allied references to general books for extra reading, should be made an integral and compulsory part of the university's academic life. At the time of admissions, it must be made clear to all, especially the undergraduates, that the college/university life is meant for keeping company with books as much as for making way for other pursuits or learning professional skills. Every year, in every session, **each student, research scholar and teacher should be expected to read a certain number of books outside the course of studies;** and then share his/her knowledge and critical evaluation of the same with other fellow-students in group discussions etc. If possible, marks or grades for such initiatives and efforts may be prescribed and added to the final results.

3. It may be useful to fix or assign some definite time or day in the week when such readings, writings, critical evaluations or book discussions can be arranged in a planned and systematic manner and as a regular feature. The main thing is that the students and teachers must realise that besides doing well at their studies and passing the examinations, while they are at the university, they are expected to

cultivate and broaden their minds to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world, just as they are expected to participate in many other academic or extra-curricular activities like sports, NCC, cultural programmes and so on.

4. To develop a suitable climate for reading of text or reference or extra books, it is necessary that the class/department/faculty or university **libraries and reading rooms** are properly equipped, enlarged, made comfortable or attractive and provided with all sorts of reading materials and physical facilities.

5. The policies and budgets for book purchase should be suitably changed to develop adequate facilities for all tastes and requirements. It was mentioned for example, that at present, books are purchased and stocked mostly under what was called "students' pressure" so that for the benefit of the poor or needy students, sets of text-books or easy books of reference or additional reading are purchased and stocked. As a result, very limited budget amount is left for other books of general reading. Or, as was mentioned, the science and technology group of subjects are not given the importance and budgets they deserve.

6. An ideal university or college library should have a variety of books and other reading materials which are normally not available to or within reach of the average students/teachers in their homes or neighbourhoods or libraries or which they can not buy and keep. **A good selective and readable sample of what is being published and read in the country in various languages and even the best abroad should be available in the main university library.**

7. The university/college libraries should also present a varied fare or flavour of their regional characteristics, their history and culture, or literature and social studies not only in English but also through books and publications in the regional languages along with an imaginative display of the regional culture. Books and publications relating to science and technology, the problems of environment and energy, biographies, travelogues and tales of adventure, stories and history books or narratives of various lands, literature of special interest to various age groups, the children, youth or women etc. and a variety of other themes or topics are needed. Audio-visual aids should also supplement and enliven the library services.

8. To make the library more useful and much more than an extension of the class-room, there should be formal, informal and even institutionalised arrangements for Consultation and co-ordination between the faculty staff and the librarians. For example, the librarian can and should be associated

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with discussions when courses or the text/and reference books for additional reading are being prescribed, so that timely steps may be taken to suitably augment the library collection. Similarly, the teaching or research faculty members should be associated with the book purchase, policy-making or purchase committees, not only for the central library, but also for the faculty/departmental/specialised centre or class libraries.

9. Decentralised and dispersed, locally manageable but autonomous library units are the need of the hour to involve both the students and the teachers more intimately in the world of books. Central libraries have other advantages, but they tend to be distant, remote, impersonal and some times overwhelming. In fact, with proper linkages, we can aim at a flexible and mutually supportive net-work of libraries in the universities so that books can flow from the main to the centre/class library and vice versa, according to the needs of a given situation.

10. At the beginning of each academic year/session and more frequently at mutual convenience, the students, especially fresh entrants, should be taken on "conducted or guided tours" of the libraries, and initiated into the various prescribed rules or procedures and processes for the use of the libraries so as enable them to take the maximum advantage of the available facilities. Similarly, the librarians and other library staff can plan out visits or talks with the students (even other scholars and teachers) from time to time, to inform and enlighten them about the recent additions or even problems of the library.

11. Other ways and means can be devised to help and encourage the faculties to arrange for "book displays" and "exhibitions" in their department or college premises or special book counters in the central/affiliated or local libraries.

12. Physical facilities and assets need to be provided on a liberal scale with provisions for replacement or maintenance etc. Various kinds of activities audio-visual displays can also be arranged around these libraries.

13. Besides UGC or government grants, the universities must explore their own local sources for funds through fees, collection drives, special donations or gifts etc.

14. Local citizens and old students, municipal bodies and business houses can (and ought to) be motivated to contribute to the library funds or physical assets. Even text-book publishers, distributors or book-sellers can be tapped. University and college libraries must not be starved of funds either for purchase of books or for maintenance and renewal of other physical assets.

15. Local publishers also can be asked to send copies of their books free to some extent, through some reasonable levy or at reduced rates.

16. Recalling that at Jaipur and some other headquarters of the erstwhile princely states, there were once fairly flourishing and well-stocked as well as popular public libraries which now seem to have fallen to bad days, it was strongly recommended that the State and municipal authorities must be moved to look after and rehabilitate these useful institutions by injecting necessary funds and management techniques.

17. Also during recent years, other alternative types of institutions have sprung up in the form of Informations Centres or Nehru Yuvak Kendras, each set of institutions under a different set of rules or procedures and under different control mechanisms or supervisory authorities. It was urged that all such institutions need to be brought together under a common "umbrella" of funding and management, preferably in collaboration or conjunction with the local municipal body, senior citizens and the local academic community and university or college library so that they serve the interests of various sections including minority groups of society equally well.

18. To involve the average citizens and their local administrations in a well-knit library movement of the future, it was urged that, as in some of the southern states of the Indian Union, the local bodies may be called upon to raise library funds through municipal levies. Such initiatives can be taken by small town committees also.

19. Some participants felt that schools must also be goaded and helped to have adequate and wide-ranging library facilities, so that children may develop a regular reading habit or a wide interest in general books, outside their prescribed courses.

20. In the case of Rajasthan University, in particular, it was emphasised that the Children's Library attached to the main University Library needed to be resuscitated and strengthened. There was also a suggestion for having a special 'Women's Wing' of the Library to cater not only to the needs of women teachers and students, but also the wives or female family members of the University teaching and administrative staff. It may be worthwhile to have a general wing or reading room in addition to the present academic/research/reference purposes library. University/college hostels should also have adequate library and reading rooms.

21. Some participants, especially a few senior citizens (from outside the university enclave) also

(Continued)

ACADEMIC COMMUNITY & BOOKS—(continued)

pointed out that the present over-emphasis on stocking English-medium books needed to be curbed or curtailed. There should be more books in Hindi or Urdu or Rajasthani, and gradually in other regional or national languages. If need be, separate sections can be set apart for different languages/literatures.

22. In view of the mounting costs of books and the inability of the publishers/distributors to bring out reasonable priced books (or cheaper paperback editions within the purchasing power of the average college/university teacher or scholar) and also in view of the rather limited scope or variety of what was being generally published, it was stressed that the University should also venture into the publications field in a big way.

The examples of a few universities here in India and abroad was given, and it was urged that all the three/four universities in the State (if not the Rajasthan University on its own) can and should undertake to publish books of academic and general interest to serve the educational interests, and the interests of the general reading public, especially the college/university-leavers. That way the objectives of continuing education for the citizens or the true aims of an 'Open University' could be served better, expeditiously and more economically.

The University Publishing House, may run on a no-profit no-loss basis; but initially, funds will have to be provided by the government and the university sources. It would be yet another befitting way to project the academic efforts or achievements of the universities and their scholars.

23. While considering the above proposal and giving it a final shape, it will be proper and necessary to review and reconsider the present status or role of bodies like the Hindi Granth Academy, the Sahitya Academy and so on, at least to reduce their overlapping and parallel activities and to bring about better co-ordination and economic efficiency. Some

participants wondered why the Hindi Granth Academy was constituted outside the folds of the University when its main task was to provide textbooks etc. for the university scholars.

24. While working out the publication programmes of the proposed University Publishing House, the suggestion by the VC that scholars may do well to collaborate with each other or bring out compilations of seminars and workshops etc. was also recommended. It was suggested, that most of the theses/dissertations for Ph.D. or M.Phil. etc. could also be suitably trimmed or tailored for publication. At least, the academic efforts within the University precincts would thus be brought to light and within reach of other interested citizens, professionals and in some cases even the policy-makers.

25. Some speakers stressed the need for greater and continuing interaction between the academic community and the citizens in particular, not only through such occasional get-together or other forums of exchange, but in a more sustained and systematic manner through the library movement and the publication programmes etc.

This was desirable in view of the fact that there were many among the citizens with an academic mind or an abiding interest in the world of books. They also pressed for more opportunities and avenues of mutual contact, for an open meeting of the minds.

It was also recommended that there should be more specific discussions relating to various faculties or departments and multi-disciplinary centres in the University to discuss and pin-point their problems.

Rakesh Hooja, an associate editor is a member of the Indian Administrative Service with deep interest in academic matters. Soon after attending this Round Table Discussion, he left for a training course at the University of East Anglia at Norwich (U.K.)

With this issue, the **Indian Book Chronicle** completes a year in Jaipur. It has been a year of ups and downs, delays and struggles, as the new year promises to be full of hopes and new plans. In the words of the poet :

"Ring out the old, ring in the new,
Ring happy bells, across the snows:
The year is going out, let him go,
Ring out the false, ring in true."

—Tennyson.

Drawing the curtain on the old year, we wish our readers every happiness and success in the new

year ! We also request them to spare some time and thought for this journal, and write to us about its contents and their presentations, and how to improve them.

Subscribers are also requested to renew their subscriptions if an when due. The rates are being increased by a token amount of Rs. 5/- from January, 1987. (Bank and postal charges extra)

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Note :—

This index of Authors (including Editors or Translators) has been compiled in the alphabetic order of surnames. However, in the case of various Indian authors who do not use their surnames, they have been put in the order of the first initials of their names. In the case of co-authors or co-editors, only the name of the first person has been taken into account.

The list of books reviewed includes Book Notes or Short Comments also, and occasionally more than one review or comment.

We had wanted to compile an index according to the list of Publishers and also an index of Reviewers. But time and resource constraints have not permitted that innovation.

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